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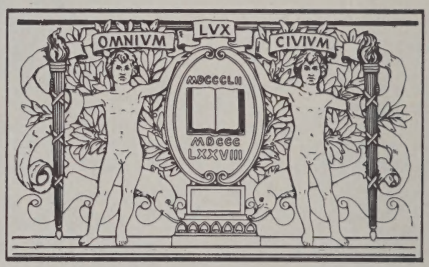

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UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

THE CHARTER

INFORMATION DEPARTMENT
Cairo (U. A. R.) 1962

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UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

[NASSER, GAMAL ABDEL]

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1.—GENERAL VIEW

INTRODUCTION

The 23rd of July 1952, marked the beginning of a new and glorious phase in the history of the constant struggle of the Arab people in Egypt.

On that important day, the people embarked on a pioneer revolutionary experience in all domains amidst extremely difficult, dark and dangerous circumstances.

Through their sincerity to the Revolution and their unshakable revolutionary will, the people succeeded in bringing a basic and deep change in their life for the realisation of their great human hopes.

The devotion of the Egyptian people to the cause of the Revolution, the clarity of their vision and their undying struggle against all challenges, have enabled them to produce a wonderful example of the national Revolution which is the contemporary phase of the free man's struggle throughout history for a better life, free of the chains of exploitation and underdevelopment in all their material and moral forms.

The day they began their glorious Revolution on 23rd of July 1952, the Egyptian people turned their back for good, to the outworn consideration which shattered their positive efforts. The people trod on the effects remaining from centuries of despotism and injustice. They dropped indefinitely all the negative factors which suppressed their will to reshape their life anew.

The potential of the revolutionary change which the Egyptian people unleashed on the 23rd of July, would appear in its full power if we should recall the forces of evil and darkness which were lurking, ready to nip in the bud, any hope in the great Nile Valley.

The foreign invaders occupied their land; close by, were the military bases, fully armed to terrify the Egyptian motherland and destroy its resistance.

The alien Royal Family ruled according to its own interests and whims and imposed humility and submission.

The feudalists owned the estates which they monopolised, leaving nothing to the toiling farmers except the remaining straw following the harvest.

Capitalists exploited Egyptian wealth in several ways after they succeeded in dominating the Government and made it serve their own interests.

What increased the danger of the revolutionary stand to those forces clustered together against the people, was the fact that political leaderships which organised the people's struggle had surrendered one after the other ; they were lured by class privileges and were drained of every power or resistance. They were even used after that, to deceive the masses under the guise of a forged democracy.

The same happened with the army, which the dominating powers, operating against the interests of the people, tried to weaken, on the one hand, and to divert from supporting the national struggle, on the other. Those powers were on the verge of using that army to threaten and suppress the struggle.

Facing all those probabilities in the morning of the 23rd July 1952, the Egyptian people raised their heads with faith and pride. They marched along the path of the Revolution,

determined to face difficulties, dangers and darkness and strongly resolved to triumph and confirm their right to life, whatever the burden and sacrifices.

The Egyptian people's revolutionary will, appears in its great and proper perspective if we recall that those valliant people began their revolutionary march with no political organisation to face the problems of the battle. Moreover, this revolutionary march started without a complete theory for the revolutionary change.

In those eventful circumstances, the sole basis of work was the famous six principles carved out of the demands and needs of the people's struggle.

The mere declaration of those principles amid the difficulties, dangers and darkness was proof of the strength and unshakable basis of the will for the revolutionary change.

(1) Facing the lurking British occupation troops in the Suez Canal zone, the first principle was : Destruction of imperialism and its stooges among Egyptian traitors.

(2) Facing the despotism of feudalism which dominated the land and those on it, the second principle was : Ending of feudalism.

(3) Facing the exploitation of wealth resources to serve the interests of a group of capitalists, the third principle was : Ending monopoly and the domination of capital over the Government.

(4) Facing the exploitation and despotism which were an inevitable consequence to all that, the fourth principle was : Establishment of social justice.

(5) Facing conspiracies to weaken the army and use the remaining part of its strength to threaten the internal front eager for revolution, the fifth aim was : Building of a powerful national army.

(6) Facing political forgery which tried to veil the landmarks of true nationalism., the sixth aim was: Establishment of a sound democratic system.

* * *

Those six principles which the popular struggle passed on to the revolutionary vanguard, mobilised from within the army to serve that struggle, and the revolutionary forerunners outside the army who brought their instant and natural support to those principles—were not a complete theory of a revolutionary task. In the circumstances, those principles were a guide to work, showing the depth of that revolutionary will, providing it with its needs and underlining its resolution to reach the end.

The great people who inscribed the six principles in their martyrs' blood and inspired by the hope, for which they sacrificed their lives, the people who rushed the revolutionary vanguard from within and outside the army to face the responsibilities of the revolutionary task, guided by those six principles passed on to that vanguard through the struggle of generations — those great people endeavoured to deepen their fight and broaden its meaning.

Those people were the great instructor who, in the wake of the Revolutionary task on the 23rd of July 1952, undertook two historic operations with far-reaching effects.

(1) First, those people developed and activated the six principles through trial, and correlated them with national history. This progress was leading to a detailed programme paving the way before the infinite aims of the Revolution.

(2) Second, those people prompted the revolutionary vanguard with the secrets of their great hopes, widening the scope of that vanguard by feeding it with new elements every day, capable of contributing to the shaping of their future.

Those great people did not stop at the role of instructor to the Revolutionary vanguard, but made use of their consciousness to safeguard it against the evils of others as well as personal evils. The people did not stop at the defeat of enemy attempts to harm the revolutionary vanguard, but resisted all deviations that might occur through oversight or conceit, and continued to guide their Revolutionary vanguard to the course of its duties.

This will of the revolution animating the people of Egypt and its sincerity brought new criteria for national action.

This will and its concomitant sincerity have ensured that no obstacle or restriction can check the process of change except the just needs and demands of the masses.

In the circumstances faced by the struggle of the people of Egypt, conventional logic could have tempted it through bargaining. compromise and reform ideas inspired by charity and donation.

According to conventional logic, that was the only possible means to face external aggressive domination and internal exploiting control, in the absence of a political working system and complete theory for action.

But the will of the revolution animating the people of Egypt and its sincerity defied this conventional logic and faced it with unleashed energies, full of potentialities for creative and pioneering action.

The 23rd of July, 1952 was the date for that revolutionary explosion. On that day, the Egyptian people rediscovered themselves and opened their eyes to their enormous latent potentialities.

These enormous potentialities have added a new experience to the history of rev olutions; and the years that have passed since the 23rd of July, 1952, will prove to be of great value to the struggle of many people.

This experience has proved that the subdued peoples can revolt, and can even stage an overall revolution.

During this experience the Egyptian people went through many revolutions with intermingled battles and interconnected stages. In a short period of time, the people defeated all the enemies of their numerous revolutions and emerged with an increasing power and impetus leading to the drive for progress.

In its struggle against imperialism, the Egyptian people were able to paralyse the power of certain classes of the old regime that were capable of deceiving them, under the false pretence of sharing with them the fight against imperialism, with which they in fact had common interests.

The war of liberation which — according to the conventional conception—required the unity of all classes in the Motherland has in fact won victory, when it safeguarded itself against any treacherous blow from the rear.

The Egyptian people went through the battle liberation against imperialism, undeceived by pretence. Throughout the battle they were cautious to isolate from their ranks all those whose common interests with imperialism called for the pursuit of exploitation.

In the meantime, the Egyptian people who faced the revolution for the sake of progress and attempted to pool, encourage and direct the savings towards development, have never forgotten that the big local capitalism was, throughout many national revolutions, able to convert the results of these revolutions into profits for capitalists. For by possessing those savings which can be invested in development, capitalism can secure monopoly, enabling it to reap all the profits of development.

In their deep-rooted revolutionism, the Egyptian people directed a blow to all local monopolies which, at the time, imagined that the people were in dire need of them, owing to the pressing needs of development.

This deep-rooted revolutionism, enabled the Egyptian people, as they pooled all efforts for production, to ensure, in the first place, complete control of the production machinery.

In the meantime, the Egyptian people revealed their struggle against imperialism and against the attempts of capitalism to exploit national independence for its own interests, under pressure of development requirements.

Simultaneously the Egyptian people refused the dictatorship of any class and decided that the dissolution of differences among classes should be the means to real democracy for the entire people's working forces.

Again, the Egyptian people insisted, under the circumstances of those intermingled battles, to establish for the new society they looked forward to, new social relations, based on new values to be given expression by a new national culture.

The Egyptian people went through the stages of development with vigour, sweeping aside the effects left behind by a feudal society, in which capitalism underwent the socialist change without bloodshed.

Those phases of the overall revolution form in fact, a series of revolutions. According to the conventional logic of revolutionary movements in history, this series of revolutions must have been achieved in independent successive stages. After each phase national efforts are pooled to be ready for the following stage.

Yet, what the Egyptian people achieved through the overall revolution with its manifold trends reveals a new revolutionary experiment, even judged by the standards of world revolutions.

Such an achievement was accomplished thanks to a number of guarantees provided by the national struggle.

First.—A will for revolutionary change which rejects all restrictions and limitations on the rights and needs of the masses.

Second.—A revolutionary vanguard which the will for revolutionary change has enabled to seize power in the state and channel this power from the service of existing interests to the service of those who are legitimately entitled to it namely, the masses.

Third.—A deep consciousness of history and its effect on contemporary man on the one hand, and of the ability of man in turn to influence history, on the other.

Fourth.—A mind open to all human experiences, from which it benefits and to which it contributes with no fanaticism or complex.

Fifth.—Unshakable faith in God, His Prophets and His sacred messages which He passed on to man as a guide to justice and righteousness.

* * *

The main weight of the struggle of the Arab people of Egypt and of their pioneering experiment is reflected in its impact on the life of the Arab Nation. It went beyond the borders of the small nation and embraced the whole of the Arab homeland.

The experiment of the Egyptian people had far-reaching repercussions on the struggle of the Arab Nation.

The Revolution of the Egyptian people awakened the possibilities of revolution in the entire Arab world. There is no doubt that this awakening was one of the main factors leading to the success of the Revolution in Egypt.

The strong repercussions of the Revolution of the Egyptian people on the whole Arab world turned into a strong driving force providing them with energy and renewed vigour.

This interaction in itself confirms the unity of the peoples of the Arab world.

While the comprehensive revolutionary experiment laid its initial responsibilities on the Arab people of Egypt the response of the other Arab peoples to this experiment was one of the main factors leading to the Egyptian people's triumph. There is no doubt that today the Egyptian people are called upon to place the benefits of their victory at the service of the overall revolution in the rest of the Arab World.

The repercussions of victory achieved by the Arab people in Egypt are not confined to the borders of the Arab World. The new pioneering experiment has had far-reaching effects on the liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The Battle of Suez which was one of the major landmarks in the Egyptian Revolutionary experiment was not merely a moment in which the Egyptian people discovered themselves or the Arab Nation discovered its potentialities, but was a moment of international significance and helped all oppressed peoples discover infinite latent powers in themselves and find out that they can revolt and that the revolution is the only course to take.

2.—THE NECESSITY OF THE REVOLUTION

Experience has shown, and ever confirms the fact that revolution is the only course which the Arab struggle can take to head for a better future.

Revolution is the only means, by which the Arab Nation can free iself of its shackles, and rid itself of the dark heritage which burdened it. For, the elements of suppression and exploitation which long dominated the Arab Nation and seized its wealth will never willingly submit.

The National forces must crush them and win a decisive victory over them.

Revolution is the only way to overcome under-development, forced on the Arab Nation through suppression and exploitation. For, the conventional methods of work are no longer capable of bridging the gap of development which has long existed between the Arab Nation and advanced countries.

It is therefore imperative to deal radically with matters and ensure the mobilisation of all the nation's material and the spiritual potentialities to undertake this responsibility.

Moverover, revolution is the only way to face the big challenge awaiting the Arab and other undeveloped countries, namely, the challenge offered by the astounding scientific discoveries, which help widen the gap of development between one country and another. With the knowledge they reveal, those discoveries add to the progress of advanced countries and, in so doing, widen the gap further between them and others, despite all the good efforts the latter may exert to narrow it.

The revolutionary path is tne only bridge which the Arab Nation can cross to reach the future it aspires to.

The Arab Revolution which is, at present, both the implement and reflection of the Arab struggle needs to equip itself with three powers, by means of which it can face and win the battle of destiny it is now fighting.

Thus the Arab Revolution would realise its objectives and destroy all its enemies.

These powers are :

First.—Consciousness based on scientific conviction arising from enlightened thought and free discussion, unaffected by the forces of fanaticism and terrorism.

Second.—Free movement that adapts itself to the changing cirumstances of the Arab struggle, provided that this movement observes the objectives and the moral ideals of the struggle.

Third.—Clarity of perception of the objectives, which never loses sight of them, and which avoids being swept away by emotion and diverted from the high road of the national struggle wasting a considerable part of its energy.

The great need for these three powers arises from the particular circumstances of the Arab revolutionary experiment, those circumstances under the influence of which it assumes it role in directing the course of Arab history.

Today, the Arab Revolution is called upon to strike a new path before the objectives of the Arab struggle.

Ages of suffering and hope finally gave shape to the objectives of the Arab struggle. These objectives which are a true expression of Arab national conscience are :

* Freedom
* Socialism
* Unity

The long suffering for the achievement of these objectives helped the nation to define and analyse them.

Today, freedom has come to mean : freedom of the country and freedom of the citizen.

Socialism has become both a means and an end, namely sufficiency and justice.

The road to unity has come to be the popular call for the restoration of the natural order of a nation, torn apart by its enemies against its own will and interests and the peaceful endeavour to promote this unity and finally its unanimous acceptance as a crowning achievement.

* * *

These objectives have always been the slogans of the Arab struggle ; but, the Arab Revolution now faces the responsibility of striking a new path before these objectives.

The need for a new road is not prompted by a mere desire for innovation or mere considerations of national dignity, but it arises from the fact that the Arab Revolution is now facing new circumstances, therefore, demanding more suitable solutions.

The Arab revolutionary experiment therefore, cannot afford to copy what others have achieved.

Though the characteristics of peoples and the ingredients forming the national character of each impose the adoption of different methods for the solution of their problems, the greatest difference in method is that imposed by the changing circumstances, prevailing and governing the whole world, particularly those far-reaching changes which occurred in the world after the Second World War (1939 to 1945).

These circumstances bring about radical changes in the atmosphere of national struggle in the world.

This however, does not mean that the national struggle of peoples and nations is to-day required to create new conceptions for its great objectives, but rather, to find the methods suited to the trend of general evolution and the changing nature of the world.

The outstanding changes that took place in the world after Second World War may be summed up as follows:

First.—The spectacular strengthening of the force of nationalist movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America to the extent that they were able to lead many a victorious battle against the forces of imperialism. Such nationalist movements, therefore, have now become an internationally effective force.

Second.—The emergence of the communist camp as an enormous force, with steadily increasing material and moral weight and effectiveness in facing the capitalist camp.

Third.—The great scientific and technological advance suddenly achieved in methods of production, opening up unlimited horizons before efforts for development.

The same advance was also achieved in the development of arms which are now potentially so destructive to all parties involved that they themselves have become a deterrent against war.

This, apart from the astounding and radical change brought about by the same scientific and technological progress in means of transport, as a result of which distances and barriers both physical and intellectual between one country and another have now virtually disappeared.

Fourth.—The result of all this in the field of international relations, the most notable of which being the increasing

weight of moral forces in the world, such as those provided by the United Nations Organisation, the Non-Aligned States and world opinion.

Side by side with these, however, is the need of imperialism under these circumstances to resort to indirect methods such as the conquest and domination of peoples from within, the formation of economic blocks and monopolies, the waging of cold wars which include, among their methods the attempt to undermine the confidence of the smaller nations in their capacity to develop themselves and to provide an equal and positive contribution to the service of human society.

Such far reaching changes in the world are accompanied by new circumstances which have an indisputable effect on the struggles of all nations, including the Arab Nation, and on their endeavour to attain their national aims.

While the aims of the Arab national struggle remain freedom, socialism, and unity, world changes have influenced the means of achievement.

As a result of the interaction between world changes and the will of the national Revolution, it was no longer believed that freedom could be attained by placating the imperialists or bargaining with them. In 1956 the Arab people in Egypt were able to take up arms and defend their freedom, achieving a decisive victory in Port Said, not to be forgotten. In the same way in their determination to secure freedom, the Arab people were able to carry on a war in Algeria, lasting more than seven years.

Moreover, socialist action is no longer compelled to observe literally laws formulated in the 19th century.

The progress in means of production, the development of nationalist and labour movements in the face of domination of imperialism and monopolies, the increasing chances of world

peace, as a result of the influence of moral forces and, at the same time of the effect of the balance of atomic terror — all these factors combined of necessity created, and should create, a new situation for socialist experiments, entirely different from what existed in the past.

The same can be said of the experiments to achieve unity in the 19th century, most notable of which are those made by Germany, and Italy and which can no longer be repeated. The need for a peacful appeal and for the unanimous approval of the whole people is not merely an expression of the desire to cling to an idealistic method in nationalist action, but it is also, and above all an absolute necessity at present if the national unity of all Arabs is to be safeguarded. In our present endeavour to achieve the national unity of the entire Arab Nation, we are struggling against enemies who still retain bases on the Arab soil itself, whether in the form of reactionary palaces collaborating with imperialism to protect their own interests, or in the form of "colonies" belonging to the racial Zionist movement used by imperialism as focal points of military threat.

In facing this world the Arab Revolution must have a new approach, that does not shut itself up within the confines of theories, which are at once limited and limiting, although it must by no means deny itself access to the rich strorehouse of experience gained by other striving peoples in their similar struggles.

Social experiences cannot live in isolation from one another. As part of human civilization, they only remain alive through enriching movement and creative interaction.

The torch of civilization has passed from one hand to another, but in each land it crossed, it acquired a fresh supply of oil to make its flame brighter across the ages.

Such are social experiences. They are capale of passing from one place to another but not of being blindly copied, they are capable of useful study and examination, but not of being learnt heartly parrot-fashion by mere repetiton.

This is then the first duty of the popular revolutionary leadership in the Arab Nation. It means that the great part of the responsibility for this pioneer revolutionary action devolves upon the popular revolutionary leadership in the United Arab Republic, since natural and historical factors have laid upon the United Arab Republic the responsibility of being the nucleus state in this endeavour to secure liberty, socialism and unity for the Arab Nation.

Such popular leaderships are now called upon to study their own history, to examine their present reality and then proceed to build their future while standing on firmer grounds.

3.—THE ROOTS OF EGYPTIAN STRUGGLE

Since a very long time there were no barriers among the countries of the area where the Arab Nation exists now.

They were exposed to the same currents of history, and their positive participation in affecting that history was one.

Egypt in particular did not live in isolation from the surrounding area. It consciously — and sometimes even unconsciously — influenced it and was in turn influenced by it in the way the part interacts with the whole. This is an established fact borne out by the study of Pharaonic history the maker of Egyptian civilization and the first civilisation of man and subsequently confirmed by the events which took place during the ages of Greek and Roman domination.

The Islamic conquest shed light on this fact and placed it in a new context of spiritual thought and feelings.

In the history of Islam, the Egyptian people guided by the message of Mohamed, assumed the main role in defence of civilization and mankind.

Before the whole area was swept by the darkness of the Ottoman invasion, the Egyptian people had assumed — with unequalled courage — grave responsibilities in the interest of the whole region.

The Egyptian people had borne the material and military responsibility of stemming the first wave of European colonialism, taking cover behind the Cross of Jesus, while in fact colonialism and the message of that great teacher are poles apart.

The Egyptian people had assumed as well the material and military responsibility of repelling the attacks of the Tartars who swept over the plains of the East and crossed its mountains bringing destruction and ruin.

The Egyptian people had also borne the literary responsibility of preserving the heritage and wealth of Arab civilisation. They made of their noble university Al Azhar, a stronghold of resistance against the colonialist and reactionary factors of weakness and disintegration imposed by the Ottoman Caliphate in the name of religion, while in fact, religion is incompatible with such factors.

* * *

It was not the French campaign against Egypt that led to the Egyptian awakening by the beginning of the 19th century as some historians claim. For, when the French campaign came to Egypt, it found Al-Azhar, simmering with new trends which had their impact on life throughout Egypt. The French campaign also found the Egyptian people resenting Ottoman colonialism disguised in the form of the Caliphate, which imposed on the Egyptian people a false conflict between genuine religious faith and the will to live which rejects tyranny.

That campaign found a fierce and constant resistance against the rule of the Mamelukes and their attempts to oppress the Egyptian people.

The high price this resistance cost the Egyptian people in national wealth and vitality did not shake their determination and faith.

The French campaign however, brought in a new supply of revolutionary energy for the Egyptian people at that time.

It brought in glimpses of modern science developed by Europe out of sciences taken over from other civilisations, foremost among which is the Pharaonic Arab civilisation.

Furthermore, it brought outstanding professors who studied the affairs of Egypt and revealed the secrets of her ancient history.

This supply of revolutionary energy inspired self-confidence and opened up new horizons that incited the eager imagination of the Egyptian people.

This popular awakening was the driving force behind the reign of Mohamed Aly. It is almost unanimously assumed that Mohamed Aly laid the foundation of modern Egypt. Yet, the tragedy of that age was that Mohamed Aly believed in the popular movement that paved the way for him to govern Egypt only as a springboard for him to reach his ambitions. Thus, Mohamed Aly drove Egypt to futile adventures which sought individual interest and ignored the interests of the people.

Modern Japan headed for progress at the same time as that of the Egyptian awakening. While Japanese progress managed to proceed steadily, individual adventures impeded the movement of Egyptian awakening and brought a setback with grievous damage.

This setback widely opened the gate to foreign interference in Egypt, while the people had previously foiled continous attempts for invasion, the latest at that time being Frazer's campaign against Rosetta.

Unfortunately, the setback occurred at an important stage in the development of colonialism. For, colonialism at the time had developed from mere occupation of the colonies and draining their resources, to a stage of financial monopolies aimed at the investment of the capital seized from those colonies.

The setback in Egypt opened the gates to the domination of world powers.

International financial monopolies started to play their grave role in Egypt. They channelled their activities to two distinct directions, namely the digging of the Suez Canal, and the transformation of Egypt's land into a vast field for cotton growing. The aim was to provide British industry with the cotton which America then rarely exported to Britain following the end of British domination in America. Later, American cotton was withheld entirely from Britain as a result of the American Civil War.

During that period, Egypt lived a dreadful experience. All the potentialities of national wealth were exhausted to serve the interests of foreign powers and a number of foreign adventurers who managed through the disastrous setback of the Egyptian awakening movement to place the Emirs of the Mohamed Aly dynasty under their power.

Yet, the spirit of these people was never broken; the great disasters of the period prompted them to store up energy which they discharged at the appropriate moment.

That energy lay in the education which thousands of Egyptian youths attained when they were sent to Europe to master modern science in the flourishing days of the reign of Mohamed Aly prior to the setback.

Returning home, those youths brought good seeds which the fertile revolutionary soil of Egypt welcomed and nursed to produce a flourishing new culture on the banks of the Nile.

It was not a coincidence that those cultures represented the flashes which attracted the attention in the area of those elements who were looking hopefully to Egypt. They made of Egypt in the second half of the 19th century a platform for

thought in the Arab world a stage for its art, and a rallying ground for all Arab revolutionaries crossing artificial and illusory boundaries.

The imperialist monopolies which coveted the area felt new hope. Britain, because of her concern about the route to India in particular, never lost sight of Egypt. Those monopolies therefore, threw the whole of their weight in the revotionary battle which began to take shape between the popular powers and the adventurous alien Mohamed Aly dynasty.

The Orabi revolution marked the peak of the revolutionary reaction against the setback.

The British military occupation of Egypt in 1882 was an expression of the determination of colonialism to ensure the continuity of the setback and to maintain the suppression and exploitation of the people of Egypt, to guarantee the interests of foreign financial monopolies, and to support the authority of the Khedive against the people.

The power of the British military occupation, the plots of the imperialist monopolist interests, the feudal system established by the Mohamed Aly dynasty through its monopoly of the land sharing, part of it with its friends or with the associates of exploiting foreigners, all these could not put out the torch of the revolution in Egypt.

The sound of revolutionary cries in the Nile Valley was always heard in the face of ruling terror, supported by the forces of foreign occupation and international imperialist interests. Hardly had the din of the guns which bombed Alexandria, and the noise of the battle fought by the valiant Egyptians who were betrayed at Tal-el-Kebir faded when new voices were heard, voices expressing the brave people's eternal will to live and the awakening which neither difficulties nor disasters could put out.

Ahmed Orabi's voice stopped but that of Mustafa Kamel began to ring loudly on Egypt.

It is surprising that this period which imperialism and those who collaborated with it thought to be a period of stagnation, was one of the richest periods in the history of Egypt, in its searchings into the depths of its soul, and in its mustering anew of its revolutionary impulses.

During this period, Mohamed Abdu's call for religious reform was heard.

Lutfi El Sayed stressed that Egypt should belong to the Egyptians.

Qasim Amin called for the emancipation of women.

These calls heralded a new revolutionary wave which was soon to rise in 1919 following the First World War and after the failure of the allies to fulfill the attractive promises they made during the war. Most outstanding among those promises was that made by Wilson, who himself soon denied it and recognised the British protectorate in Egypt.

Saad Zaghloul led the new revolutionary wave, guiding popular unflinching struggle, which, though the target to successive blows during more than a century, continued unabated.

* * *

The 1919 Revolution of the Egyptian people is worthy of deep study. For the factors that led to its failure were the very factors that motivated the 1952 Revolution.

There are three obvious reasons for the failure of that revolution. These should now be weighed in all fairness and honesty :

First.—The revolutionary leaderships almost completely overlooked the needs for social change. The explanation

of this was obvious, considering the nature of the times which made of the class of landowners the basis of the political parties responsible for leading the revolution.

Although the popular rush towards the revolution was clear in its social context, the revolutionary leaderships could not see that. So much so, that a wrong analysis by some historians prevailed at the time, alleging that the Egyptian people are unique among the nations of the world in that they never revolt except in conditions of prosperity. To prove this, they stated that the revolution took place in an atmosphere of prosperity, accompanied by the rise in cotton prices, at the end of the First World War. But this reasoning is superficial. For that prosperity was confined to the classes of landlords, merchants and foreign exporters, who benefited from the rise in prices. Consequently, the gap widened between them and the toiling peasants who with their sweat and blood irrigated the cotton fields, and whose conditions remained unaffected by the rise in prices. The deprivation suffered by the masses that formed the base was in flagrant contradiction with prosperity enjoyed by those at the top. This deprivation was one of the causes of friction that lit the spark of the revolution.

The deprived were the fodder of the revolution and its victims.

Yet in overlooking the social aspects of the revolutionary motives, the leaderships that formed the vanguard of the 1919 Revolution could not clearly see that a revolution cannot achieve its aims for the people, unless its drive goes beyond the apparent political façade reflected in the demand for independence and tackles the core of the economic and social problems.

The demand to Egyptianise some financial activities was the most that could be done, at the time, although the call for a radical redistribution of national wealth was the vital and pressing demand of the time.

Second.—The revolutionary leaderships at the time, failed to extend their vision beyond Sinai with the result that they could not arrive at a definition of the Egyptian character. They were incapable of deducing from history the fact that there is no conflict whatsoever between Egyptian patriotism and Arab nationalism.

The leaderships failed to learn from history. They also failed to learn from the enemy they fought, and who had a common plan of treatment for the entire Arab Nation, with all its peoples.

Thus, these revolutionary leaderships were unaware of the danger of the Balfour Declaration which set up Israel as a dividing line tearing the Arab territory apart, and acting as a base of threat.

By this oversight, the Arab struggle was deprived of the Egyptian revolutinary energy, at one of the gravest moments of the crisis. Consequently, the imperialist forces managed to deal with an Arab Nation torn and exhausted.

The British administration of India was responsible for dealing with the Arab peninsula and Iraq. Syria and the Lebanon were left to France.

At the time, the Arab Nation suffered such humiliation that even imperialist agents were able to take over the helm of Arab revolutionary movements. According to those agents' advice and direction, thrones were set up for those who betrayed the Arab struggle and deviated from its aims.

In the meantime the national revolutionary movement in Egypt imagined that those serious development did not concern it, and that in no way was its fate related to them.

Third.—The revolutionary leaderships could not adapt their methods of struggle to the methods adopted by imperialism to face the revolutions of the people at the time. Imperialism

discovered that military force could only fan the flames of popular revolution ; and so the sword was replaced by deceit. Formal and superficial concessions were rendered to the revolutionary leaderships which failed to distinguish between appearance and reality. The logic of class distinctions tempted them to accept this confusion.

At that time, imperialism gave independence only in form, withholding its content. It gave the slogan of freedom while keeping back its reality.

Thus, the revolution ended by declaring an independence of no content and an ailing freedom under the guns of the occupation.

Complications increased dangerously, due to the self government granted by imperialism. It also led, in the name of the constitution, to unsettled disputes over the booty.

Consequently, party conflict in Egypt became a force, which kept the people busy and fretted away the revolutionary energy.

The 1936 treaty, concluded between Egypt and Britain, and signed by a national front that comprised all the political parties active at the time, was like a document of surrender to the great bluff by which the 1919 Revolution was taken in. The preamble of the treaty stipulated that Egypt was independent, while its articles in every clause deprived this independence of every value or significance.

4.—THE MORAL OF THE SETBACK

The truly dangerous period in the long struggle of the Egyptian people was that period full of deceit, namely from the setback in 1919 until the popular powers became aware of the danger threatening them and arising from the logic of bargaining and surrender.

Consequently, began the psychological preparation for the July 1952 Revolution. This period, had it not been for the adamant will and true mettle of the people, could have led the country to a state of despair, stifling or paralysing every incentive for change.

This period which we can now regard as that of the great crisis was full of misleading façades concealing the shaky remnants of the 1919 Revolution.

The leadership remnants of the revolution, were still in the forefront but they had lost all their revolutionary energy. They had surrendered all the slogans raised by the people in 1919 to the big landlords who formed the supporters of the existing party organisations, that included a number of opportunists attracted by the distribution of the booty following the setback of the revolution.

At the time a group of parasites emerged.

The deviation attracted groups of intellectuals to the corrupt party atmosphere. These could have been able to safeguard the aspirations of the genuine revolution, but the temptation was stronger than their resistance.

This deviation also paved way for a batch of capitalists who in fact, inherited the role of 19th century foreign adventurers with its superficiality and disregard for the development

of the land. It only cared for the exploitation of the greater parts of the country's wealth and the sapping of this wealth in the shortest time possible.

Sometimes these parties all fell into the arms of the palace, sometimes to the arms of imperialism ; they had one and the same interest and therefore, stood in one camp. Superficial differences may have emerged between them at times, but the major fact was that they stood in the camp opposing the people's interests and opposing the trend of progress. The power of the people constituted a menace to their alien position. The tendency for progress was sure to drift them together towards the same fate.

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At the same time there was a deceitful democratic facade which the defeated remnants of the 1919 Revolution exploited to divert the people from their true demands. Democracy as it was exercised in Egypt during this period was a shameful farce.

The people no longer had any power ; they became a tool in the hands of authority, or more accurately victims to this authority.

The voices of the people no longer decided the direction of the national path. The voices of the people were steered according to the will of the ruling powers and their collaborators. That was the natural outcome of neglecting the social aspect of the causes of the 1919 popular Revolution.

For those who monopolised and dominated the means of livelihood of the peasants and workers could consequently monopolise their votes and dictate their will.

The freedom to earn a living is a necessary guarantee to the freedom of voting.

This violent crisis unleashed the prerogatives of the royal family which the people struggled hard to oppose. But the setback of the revolution encouraged the royal family to exceed all limits. In the atmosphere of the crisis, the constitution accepted by the revolutionary leaderships, was no more a gift from the intruder, but a mere scrap of paper bearing but a trace of pseudo rights flung to the people for their diversion.

Because of their increasing weakness, the revolutionary leaderships which had championed the popular struggle surrendered before the mounting power of the palace. They all knelt down seeking the favours that would lead to the seats of power. They, therefore, abandoned the people and lost all respect for their dignity, forgetting that they were there by willingly giving up their only source of power.

They finally sold their souls to the devil reaching a point where a change of cabinets could be effected at a certain price to be paid to the palace and its intermediaries. When national leaderships uproot themselves from the people's soul they then condemn themselves to death.

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The Motherland will feel for a long time the bitter humiliation it experienced at that critical period as a result of the imperialists making light of its struggle, a derogation that was beyond human endurance. To revolt against imperialism is the natural right of all colonised peoples.

But the bitter hatred felt by our people towards imperialism, which they still experience despite the lapse of time, emanates from this period.

Imperialism, at that time, did not only intimidate all the peoples of the Arab Nation but also made light of their struggle and right to life.

Imperialism denied all the pledges it made during the First World War. The Arab Nation was then under the impression that the day of independence and unity was near.

The aspiration for independence received severe blows.

The Arab States were divided among the imperialist states to satisfy their ambitions. Moreover, the imperialist statesmen coined humiliating words such as "Mandate and Trusteeship" to cover up their crimes.

Part of the Arab territory of Palestine was handed to an aggressive racial movement with neither historical nor natural justification, to be used by the imperialists as a whip in their hands to fight the struggling Arabs if one day they were able to overcome their humiliation and survive the crisis.

The imperialists intended this territory to be a barrier dividing the Arab East from the Arab West, and a constant drain on the energy of the Arab Nation diverting it from positive construction.

All this was carried out in a provocative manner disregarding the existence of the Arab Nation and its dignity.

It was the irony of fate that armies of the Arab Nation who entered Palestine to safeguard Arab rights, should be under the supreme command of one of the cheaply bought hirelings of imperialism. The military operations, were placed in the hands of a British officer who received his orders from the very statesman who gave the Zionist movement the Balfour Declaration on which the Jewish state in Palestine was based.

Long years will elapse before the Arab Nation could forget the bitterness of the experience it underwent during that period, trapped between terrorism and humiliation.

The Arab Nation emerged from that experience with an adamant determination to hate and defeat imperialism.

It emerged with a most useful lesson on the true nature of imperialism. For imperialism is not merely a looting of the people's sources, but an aggression on its dignity and pride.

The Egyptian people were ready to resume their historic role even before the end of the Second World War and before the spectre of the occupation tanks was removed from their main cities.

The Egyptian people expressed themselves through obstinate refusal to take part in the war which to them was but a strife over the colonies and markets between racialism and Anglo-French imperialism, which involved mankind in tremendous tragedies through mass killings and destruction.

The Egyptian people rejected all the slogans advertised by the belligerents to deceive the peoples. The entire Egyptian people withdrew the remaining little support of those who collaborated with the occupying power, seeking black market profits imposed by the war and its dark shadows. A wave of anger and indignation swept over Egyptian youth against all those who extended their hands to occupation and accepted it. In Egypt in those days could be heard the echo of bullets and bomb explosions; secret organisations with different aims and methods increased in number.

This was not the Revolution, but rather a preparatory stage.

That was the period of indignation which paved the way for the possibilities of the Revolution. Anger is a passive phase. The revolution is a positive task aiming at the establishment of new systems.

The anger of the Egyptian people which paved the way for change was no longer confined to few individuals: it spread among the entire people.

The peasants' rebellions against the tyranny of feudalism reached the stage of armed contests between those who rose against serfdom and the despotic landlords who controlled

the fates of those whose lives had been connected with the land from times immemorial, even though they had for so long been deprived of its possession.

The burning of Cairo, irrespective of how far it had been engineered by intriguers, could have been stopped if it had not been for the outburst of anger in the people which only led to further conflagration.

The dominant ruling class in the capital was not aware of the needs of the people, so deeply were they immersed in their luxuries that they were insensitive to the sufferings and misery of the masses.

The spark of anger caused more fires in Cairo than those caused by the hidden intriguers who put the city to the torch.

By the beginning of the year 1952, a crucial year in the history of Egypt, the masses both in town and in country had already given adequate expression to their real will.

The greatest thing about the Revolution of July 23rd 1952 is that the armed forces who set to stage it were not the makers of the Revolution, but its popular tool.

The great task accomplished by the revolutionary vanguard in the army on that immortal night was that they took control of everything in the army and they chose for it the only right places, namely the side of the popular struggle.

They accomplished a task of first rate importance and involving great dangers. They set things right defying the power of all the ruling authorities of the time, which tried to isolate the army from the popular struggle.

On that great night the Revolution broke out as a result of the army occupying its natural place in the country, by putting itself under the leadership of the people to serve its ends and realize its aspirations.

The army on that night declared its loyalty to the people's struggle, thereby paving the way for the will to change.

By taking the side of the popular struggle the army then achieved two great things.

It deprived the internal forces of exploitation of their tool with which they threatened the people's Revolution.

It also provided the popular struggle with necessary arms to enable it to face the foreign forces of occupation and to repel the blows of treachery and treason.

The Revolution itself did not break out on the eve of July 23rd. But on that glorious night the gate was flung open for it.

The revolutionary consciousness in Egypt proved its ability to bear the great responsibilities laid upon it by changing conditions.

From its pure patriotic sense, it acquired the capacity for clear vision and far-sightedness, which enabled it to surmount the obstacles that might have stood in the way of any revolutionary change under circumstances similar to those Egypt lived in those days.

The great event which occurred on the eve of July 23rd could have ended in a mere change of cabinet or of the system of government.

On the other hand, it could have turned into a military dictatorship to add one more experiment to the list of fascist experiments that had failed.

But the genuineness and strength of the revolutionary consciousness controlled the direction of events and gave all nationalist elements a realisation of their role in dircting the national struggle.

The genuineness and strength of this consciousness necessitated that the great event of the eve of July 23rd should be a step along the road towards a radical and all-embracing change which would bring back national aspirations to their proper revolutionary channel, from which they had been diverted as result of the setback suffered in the 1919 Revolution.

Furthermore, the genuineness and strength of this consciousness made it impossible to accept the possibility of a military dictatorship, but placed the popular forces, with the forces of the peasants and workers at the head, in the position of actual leadership.

Similarly, in that critical stage, genuine revolutionary consciousness rebelled against the reasoning of those who called for reform and, instead, chose total revolution.

The needs of our country were such that it was not enough to patch up the old and decaying building, try to keep if from falling by means of supports and give the exterior a fresh coat of paint.

What was needed was a new and strong building resting on firm foundations and towering high in the sky.

The most powerful argument against the reasoning of those who called for more reform was that the old building did actually crumble and fall to pieces in the face of the new experiment.

The sudden and complete collapse of the system that existed before the Revolution was a sure sign of the futility of any attempt to patch it up.

Yet, the fall of the old regime was not the objective of the revolutionary outlook, which in its ideals and aspirations, was more concerned with the setting up of a new buiilding rather than with the ruins in shape.

The gate which was flung open on the eve of July 23rd, remained open for a considerable period of time before the inevitable and long awaited change was admitted.

In the first place, the ruins of the old regime lay cluttered in the way ; there were still the decayed remains of its worn out and defeated cupidity.

At the same time all political leaderships in public life collapsed under the ruins of the old regime, which they themselves helped to create by their deviation from the principles that should have been followed in the 1919 Revolution.

They all participated in the policy of " bargain and give in ", which accompanied that period of crisis and stamped it with its shameful character.

Class distinctions had removed from the rank of the popular forces which looked forward to, and called for, the revolutionory useful elements fit to occupy positions of intellecual leadership.

Also the revolutionary vanguard that was responsible for the events of the eve of July 23rd was still not ready to assume the responsibility of the revolutionary change which it had prepared for.

It opened the gate before the Revolution under the banner of the famous six principles, but these principles were only banners for the Revolution and not a technique for revolutionary action or a method to follow for the radical change.

Things were exceedingly difficult especially in the context of the vast and far reaching changes in the world.

But, in its role as instructor, the Egyptian people, the creator of civilization, taught their vanguard the secrets of their great hopes and aspirations. They set in motion the six

principles by means of trial and error towards a clearer vision and undertanding, by which the planning of the new and aspired-to society could be made. The toiling people proceeded to amass their building material and rally all their revolutionary forces from the vast mass of the people's forces, capable of participating in that great venture.

The people, in their role as instructor, decided that their revolutionary vanguard should join with the ranks of the working masses.

To their national army they assigned the task of safeguarding the building operation.

Then they watched vigilantly, and efficiently supervised the pioneer and constructive change in the direction of a cooperative, democratic socialism.

5.—TRUE DEMOCRACY

A revolution is naturally a popular and progressive action. It is the action of a whole people mustering their strength in a determined attempt to remove all obstacles and barriers standing in the « way of life » they conceive as desirable. It is also a jump across a gulf of economic and social underdevelopment, with the intention of making up for what was lost and of realising the great aspirations which form part of what the people ideally want for future generations.

True revolutionary action, therefore, would not be possible unless it possessed these two attributes :

(1)- popularity

(2)- progressiveness

A revolution is not the work of one individual, otherwise it would be merely a subjective and desperate reaction against a whole society.

Nor is a revolution the work of one group, otherwise it would be mere clash between this group and the majority of the population.

The value of a true revolution lies in its degree of popularity, in the extent to which it is an expression of the vast masses in the extent to which it mobilises their forces to rebuild the future, and also in the extent to which it enables these masses to impose their will on life.

A revolution, also, by its very nature, signifies progress.

The masses do not call for change or endeavour to realise or impose it merely for its own sake, i.e; from sheer boredom.

They only do so in order to attain a better life and in an attempt to raise the level of their reality to that of their aspirations.

The aim of a revolution is progress; while material and social underdevelopment are the real driving force behind the will to change and the forceful and determined movement from what actually is to what should, or is hoped to be.

Democracy is the true sign showing that a revolution is a popular action.

Democracy means the assertion of sovereignty of the people, the placing of all authority in their hands and the consecration of all powers to serve their ends.

Similarly, socialism is the true sign of the progressive nature of a revolution.

Socialism means the setting up of a society on a basis of sufficiency and justice, of work and equal opportunity for all, and of production and services.

Seen in this light, both democracy and socialism appear as one and the same extension of the revolutionary act.

Democracy is political freedom while socialism is social freedom. The two cannot be separated since they are both indispensable to true freedom. They are, so to speak, its two wings without both of which it cannot soar to the horizons of the awaited morrow.

The depth of the revolutionary consciousness of the Egyptian people and the clarity of their vision, through being true to themselves, enabled them to form a correct judgment of their position after their great victory at the battle of Suez.

In the midst of their victory celebrations the Egyptian people did not fail to realise that it was not their freedom that they had won from the battle of Suez, but rather the release of their will to shape their freedom in accordance with the principles of the Revolution.

The glorious battle enabled them to discover their abilities and potentialities with the result that it became possible to direct them according to the principles of the Revolution, in order to achieve freedom.

According to the great Egyptian people, victory over the imperialists was not the end, but the beginning of real action. It was only a rather convenient half way station from which to resume the war for the cause of true freedom and ensure its continued flourishing on their soil.

The question which arose quite naturally in the aftermath of the great victory at Suez was the following :

" To whom does this free will, which the Egyptian people managed to extricate from the heart of the terrible really belong ? "

The sole historical answer that could be found to this question was this : " This will can only belong to the people, and it can serve no other cause but theirs. "

Peoples do not wrench their will from the clutches of usurpers to lay it aside in the museums of history. They wrench their will, which they strengthen with all their national abilities, to make it a power capable of meeting their needs.

Such a stage in the struggle is the most dangerous in the experiences of nations.

It is the point after which many popular movements suffered a setback, movements which although they first seemed full of glorious hopes and expectations subsequently,

and after their first victory over external pressure, forgot themselves. They wrongly assumed that their revolutionary aims had all been realised, with the result that they left things unchanged, forgetting that internal elements of exploitation were colsely related to forces of external pressure, the close collaboration between them being a fact pressed by conditions of mutual benefits and interests at the expense of the people.

Later, such popular movements gave themselves up to deceptive constitutional façades while imagining they truly attained complete freedom.

But these movements always discover, often too late, that in their failure to bring about a revolutionary change, in the economic sense, they have robbed political freedom of its true guarantee. Of true political freedom they have only kept the contradiction between it and national reality.

Similarly, at this critical stage in the national struggle other popular movements suffer a setback when in their internal changes they follow theories which do not arise out of national experience.

To recognise the presence of national laws governing social action does not mean to accept ready-made theories and take them as an adequate substitute for national experience.

The real solutions to the problems of one people cannot be imported from the experiences of another.

In its attempts to grapple with the responsibility of social action no popular movement can afford to dispense with experience.

National experience does not assume a priori the falsehood of all previous theories, nor does it categorically reject all the solutions reached by others. This would be fanaticism, the full consequences of which, national experiences cannot afford to bear, especially since the will for social change, when it

first assumes its responsibility, passes through a stage akin to intellectual adolescence during which it needs all the intellectual sustenance it can get hold of.

But it also needs to digest its food and mix with it all the secretions produced by its living cells.

It is true that it needs to know all that goes on around it.

Yet what it primarily needs, is to live its life on its own soil.

In the life of a nation, as in the life of an individual, the way to maturity and clarity of vision is through trial and error.

Political freedom, namely democracy, is therefore not the copying of formal constitutional façades.

Similarly, social freedom, namely socialism, does not mean observing rigid theories which have not arisen out of the nature of national experience.

After the 1919 popular revolutionary movement, Egypt fell under the great deceit of a sham democracy. After the first recognition of Egypt's independence by imperialism, the revolutionary leaderships surrendered to a pseudo-democracy with a constitutional façade that did not embody any economic content.

This was not only a strong blow against freedom in the social aspect. The blow soon attained the external political facade, for, imperialism gave no weight to the word " independence" written on paper and did not hesitate to tear it up at any time to suit its interests.

That was indeed natural.

The façade of the sham democracy only represented the democracy of reactionaries ; reaction is not prepared to break off its relations with imperialism or stop collaborating with it. Therefore, it was logical, regardless of the external sham

façades to find that the cabinets under the democracy of reaction and under the so-called national independence, could only function at the incentive of the official representative of imperialism in Egypt. At times, these governments were formed according to his instructions, or orders. At one stage a government was brought into power by imperialist tanks.

All this tears away the mask of the sham façade, reveals the great deceit of the democracy of reaction and confirms that political democracy or freedom on its political aspects, are of no value without economic democracy of freedom in its social aspect.

It is an indisputable fact that the political system in any state is but a direct reflection of the prevailing economic state of affairs and an accurate expression of the interests controlling this economic state.

If feudalism is the economic power prevailing in a certain state, undoubtedly the political freedom in this state could only be the freedom of feudalism.

It controls economic interests and dictates the political shape of the state, imposing on it to serve its own interests.

The same applies when the economic power is in the hands of exploiting capital.

Before the Revolution, the economic power in Egypt was in the hands of an alliance between feudalism and exploiting capital.

It was inevitable that the political set-up, including the parties should represent that power and that alliance between feudalism and the exploiting capital.

It will be recalled that certain parties, under these circumstances, dared to raise a slogan to the effect that the power should be in the hands of the interested parties.

Since feudalism and exploiting capital were in control of all interests in the country, that slogan was more than a tacit recognition of the farce imposed by the dominating powers on the Egyptian people, in the name of democracy.

At any rate, that slogan, however painful it might be, was a frank admission of the bitter truth.

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The domination of feudalism in collusion with the exploiting capital over the economy of the land, naturally and inevitably enabled them to dominate political activities in all their forms, guaranteed their direction to serve their alliance at the expense of the people and to subjugate the masses by deceit or terrorism until they either acquisced or surrendred.

Democracy on this basis was merely the dictatorship of reaction.

The peoples' loss of their social freedom led to the robbing of the political freedom — bestowed by the ruling reaction— of every significance. Therefore, the 1923 constitution was a gift graciously donated by the king.

The parliament established by that constitution did not safeguard the interests of the people but naturally protected the interests of those who bestowed the constitution.

Undoubtedly, several voices were raised within parliament calling for the rights of the people. But these appeals were wasted away and had no serious effect.

Actually it was not harmful for reaction to give an outlet to propular indignation so long as it was in possession of all controlling valves and since it had under all circumstances, its majority which enabled it to maintain its class dictatorship and safeguard its privileges.

The freedom of voting, without the freedom of earning a living and guarantee to this freedom, lost all its value and became a deceit, misleading the people.

Under these circumstances the right to vote had but three alternatives :

1. In the villages, voting was compulsory for the peasant and could bear no argument. He had no alternative but to cast his vote in favour of, or according to the wishes of the feudalist lord, the owner of the land. Otherwise, he had to bear the consequences of rebellion and be expelled from the land where he worked and earned what was barely enough for his subsistence.

2. In the villages and cities, the " buying " of votes enabled the exploiting capital to guarantee the election of its lackeys or of those, whose allegiance was ensured.

3. In the villages and towns, the ruling elements did not hesitate, on several occasions, to resort to open forgery if they felt the existing currents opposed their will and conflicted with their interests.

The conditions governing the polling system, mainly the conditions of an inordinate financial deposit, discouraged the working masses even from approaching the game of polling, for it was only a game at the time.

At the same time, the ignorance imposed on the vast majority of the people, under the pressure of poverty, made the secrecy of polling which is the primary guarantee to its freedom impossible or virtually impossible.

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The freedom of popular organisation, the backbone of the freedom of popular representation, also under their circumstances, lost its effectiveness and failed to influence, in a positive way the state of affairs imposed within the Motherland.

Thousands of peasants, even the small landowners, were crushed by the feudalist landlords and were not able to organise themselves successfully in cooperatives to enable them

to protect the output of their land and consequently give them the power to put up a resistance and make their voices heard by the local machinery. In addition there was the inefficient ruling power in the capital.

Thousands of agricultural labourers also lived in conditions akin to forced labour, with a level of wages nearest to stravation. They carried out their work with no guarantee for the future. They could only spend their life in misery and suffering.

Thousands of workers employed in industry and trade were also not able to challenge the will of the ruling capitalism allied with feudalism and controlling the state machinery and legislative authority. Work became a commodity in the production process to be bought by the exploiting capital at the terms best serving its interests.

The trade union movement, which led that striving class of workers, encountered great difficulties standing in its way to corrupt it.

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During that period the freedom of criticism was lost with the loss of the freedom of the press.

It was not only a question of the strict laws curtailing the freedom of the press, laws restricting the scope of criticism to the extent that almost complete darkness reigned.

But, the effect of the technical progress of the press profession was itself no less harmful than that exercised by restrictive and oppressive legislations.

The technical progress in the press profession, and its increasing requirement for modern machinery and a collossal amount paper converted that great profession from an expression of opinion to a complicated capitalist operation.

During this period, and this progress the press was only able to survive, if it was supported by the ruling parties representing the interests of feudalism or if it completely relied on exploiting capital which had the power to advertise through its ownership of industry and trade.

First.—The authority of the state and legislation through the unjust laws of publication and censorship which checked truth, was used to make the press subservient to the ruling interests.

Second.—The little freedom left to the press was exposed to an even great danger as a result of the increasing need of the profession of the press itself for advanced technology. It soon became subservient to the will of the exploiting capital from which, and not from the mass of the people and their political and social trends, it was to receive its inspiration.

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The freedom of education, which might otherwise have released new energies of hope, was itself subjected to the same abuse under the rule of reactionary democracy.

The reactionary rulers had to make sure that only those concepts which expressed their own interests reigned supreme. The consequences of all that were reflected in the systems and methods of education, which only recognized defeatist and subversive slogans.

Successive generations of Egyptian youth were taught that their country was neither fit for nor capable of industrialization. In their textbooks, they read their national history in distorted versions. Their national heroes were described as lost in a mist of doubt and uncertainly while those who betrayed the national cause were glorified and venerated.

Successive generations of Egyptian youth attended schools and universities, whose educational programmes aimed at

nothing more than to turn out civil servants to work for the existing systems and under their laws and regulations which disregarded the interests of the people, completely unaware of the need to destroy them or change them radically.

The alliance between feudalism and the reactionary rulers was not even satisfied with that ; but by exercising pressure on large groups of intellectuals who were able to be among the revolutionary vanguard it managed to destroy their resistance by facing them with an impossible choice : either to yeild to the temptation of " the crumbs" of class privileges thrown to them, or else to end up in obscurity and oblivion.

The depth of revolutionary consciousness, together with the genuineness of the revolutionary will of the Egyptian people exposed the appalling falsehood which ruled the country in the name of the alliance between feudalism and the exploiting capital.

This consciousness and that will included among the six principles the principle of true democracy. Guided by experience, and reality and impelled by great hope, they outlined the form of the democracy of the people — the whole of the working people.

First. — Political democracy cannot be separated from social democracy. No citizen can be regarded as free to vote unless he is given the following three guarantees :

* He should be free from exploitation in all its forms.

* He shoud enjoy an equal opportunity to have a fair share of the national wealth.

* His mind should be free from all anxiety likely to undermine the security of his life in the future.

Only when a citizen possesses these three guarantees can he be said to have political freedom, and can take part by means of his vote, in shaping the authority of the state he aspires to have.

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Second.—Political democracy cannot exist under the domination of any one class. Democracy means, even literally, the domination and sovereignty of the people — the entire people.

The inevitable and natural class struggles cannot be ignored or denied, but their resolution must be arrived at peacefully and within the framework of national unity and by means of dissolving class distinctions.

The experiment started with the beginning of the organized revolutionary action has proved that it is indispensable that the Revolution should undertake to liquidate the force of reaction, deprive it of all its weapons and prevent it from making any attempt to come back to power and subject the state machinery to the service of its own interests.

The bitterness and sanguinary nature of class strife as well as the grave dangers likely to ensue, are in fact the creation of the force of reaction which does not wish to give up its monopolies or its privileged position from which it continues to exploit the people.

The force of reaction possesses the means of resistance; it possesses the power of the state and if this is taken away from it, it turns to the power of capital. If, however, this is taken away from it, then it turns to its natural ally, imperialism.

Because of their monopoly of wealth, reactionary interests are bound to clash with the interest of the whole people.

Consequently the peaceful resolution of class struggle cannot be achieved unless the power of reaction is first and foremost deprived of all its weapons.

The removal of such clash will pave the way to peaceful solutions to class struggles. It does not remove the contradictions in the rest of the social classes, but it creates a change for the possibility of resolving them peacefully, namely, by means of democratic action. If, on the other hand, this clash of interests is allowed to remain, then it will not be resolved except by a civil war which will cause great damage to the country at a time of great international conflict and bitter cold war.

The collaboration between the force of reaction and the exploiting capital must therefore collapse. The road must then be paved for democratic interaction between the various working powers of the people, namely the farmers, workers, soldiers, intellectuals and national capital.

The cooperation between the powers representing the working people is the legitimate substitute for the collaboration between feudalism and the exploiting capital. It alone is capable of replacing reactionary democracy by true democracy.

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Third.—It is the national unity created by the cooperation between those representative powers of the people which will be able to set up the Arab Socialist Union. This union will constitute the authority representing the peopple and the driving force behind the possibilities of the Revolution and the guardian of the values of true democracy.

These enormous popular powers forming the Arab Socialist Union and responisble for the unleashing of its energy and effectiveness make it necessary that when dealing with the form

of the political organisation of the state, the new constitution of the United Arab Republic must refer to a set of necessary guarantees :

(1) The popular and political organisations based on free and direct election must truly and fairly represent the powers forming the majority of the population, the powers that have for long been exploited and which have a deep interest in the Revolution through their experience of deprivation, these powers are also naturally the storehouse of revolutionary energy, which is both dynamic and forceful.

This is only just and fair, since it means that the majority will be represented. It also provides a sure guarantee to the strength of the revolutionary impetus, because it will then be springing from its genuine and natural sources.

It follows then that the new constitution must ensure that its farmers and workemen will get half the seats in political and popular organisations at all levels, including the House of Representatives, since they form the majority of the people. Moreover they are the majority who have been longest deprived of their inalienable right to shape and direct their future.

(2) The authority of the elected popular councils must always be consolidated and raised above the authority of the executive machinery of the State ; for, that is the natural order regulating the sovereignty of the people, and ensures that the people will always be the leader of national action. This would be the guarantee which guards the revolutionary drive against stagnation through the complications of the administrative or executive machinery, as a result of negligence or deviation. Again, local government should gradually but resolutely transfer the authority of the State to the people ; for, they are in a better position to feel their own problems and find the proper solutions.

(3) There is a dire need to create a new political organisation, within the framework of the Arab Socialist Union, recruiting the elements fit for leadership, organising their efforts, clarifying the revolutionary motives of the masses, sounding their needs and endeavouring to satisfy them.

(4) Collective leaderships are imperative in the period of the revolutionary drive. Collective leaderships do not only guard against the individual running loose, but also confirms and ensures the reign of democracy in its sublime form.

Fourth. – Popular organisations, especially cooperatives and trade unions, can play an effective and influential role in promoting sound democracy.

These organistions should form a vanguard force in the various fields of national democratic aciton. The development of the cooperative and trade union movements provides an endless source to the conscious leadership that directly feel the reactions and responses of the masses.

The pressure that stifled these organisations and paralysed their movements has vanished.

Besides their productive role the farmers' cooperatives are democratic organisations capable of spotting and solving the problems of the farmers.

So, it is high time that agricultural labour unions were established.

Industrial, commercial and services trade unions were able, thanks to the July laws, to reach a position of leadership in the national struggle.

The workers are no longer commodities in production processes. The labour forces have become masters of the production process. They also share in its administration and profits under the best terms of wages and working hours.

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Fifth.—Criticism and self ciriticism are among the most important guarantees to freedom. The most dangerous obstacle in the way of free criticism and self criticism in political organisations is the infiltration of reactionary elements.

As a result of their control of economic interests the reactionary forces controlled the press. Freedom of opinion was thus deprived of its most valuable instrument.

The elimination of reaction puts an end to the dictatorship of one class and paves the way for the democracy of all the national powers of the people.

It provides the surest guarantees for the freedom of assembly and freedom of discussion.

The ownership of the press by the people was achieved, thanks to the law of press organisation which, at the same time, ensured its independence of the administrative government machinery. This law wrenched for the people the most valuable instrument of freedom of opinion and provided the surest guarantee for criticism.

The ownership of the press by the Arab Socialist Union which represents all the working forces of the people delivered it from the influence of the one ruling class. It also liberated it from the domination of capital and the invisible censorship imposed on it by capital which controlled the resources of the press.

The decisive guarantee for freedom of the press lies in its belonging to the people, so that freedom of the press would in turn be an extention to the freedom of the people.

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Sixth.—The new revolutionary conceptions of true democracy must impose themselves on the factors influencing the

formation of the citizen - foremost among which are education and the administrative laws and regulations.

The object of education is no longer to turn out employees who work at the government offices. Thus the eductaional curricula in all subjects must be reconsidered according to the principles of the Revolution. The curricula should aim at enabling the individual human being to reshape his life.

Laws, must also be redrafted to serve the new social relations brought in by political democracy reflecting the social democracy.

Moreover, justice, which is the sacred right of every individual, should never be an expensive commodity, beyond the reach of the citizen. Justice should be accessible to every individual without material obstacles, or administrative complications.

The government statutes should be radically changed. They were all, or at least most of them, drawn up under the rule of one class. They should be transformed, without delay, to uphold the democratic principles of all the people.

Democratic action in these fields will provide the opportunity for developing a new culture with new values. Such a culture would be profoundly aware of man and sincere in expressing him. It would then throw light on the facts of his thought and feeling. It would move the creative energies latent in him, the effors of which would in turn be reflected in his experience of democracy, his conception of its principles, and his discovery of its essence.

6.—ON THE INEVITABILITY OF THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION

Socialism is the way to social freedom.

Social freedom cannot be realised except through an equal opportunity for every citizen to obtain a fair share of the national wealth.

This is not confined to the mere re-distribution of the national wealth among the citizens but foremost and above all it requires expanding the base of this national wealth, to accede to the lawful rights of the working masses.

This means that socialism, with its two supports, sufficiency and justice, is the way to social freedom.

The socialist solution to the problem of economic and social underdevelopment in Egypt — with a view to achieving progress in a revolutionary way — was never a question of free choice. The socialist solution was a historical inevitability imposed by reality, the broad aspirations of the masses and the changing nature of the world in the second part of the 20th century.

The capitalist experiments to achieve progress correlated with imperialism. The countries of the capitalist world reached the period of economic drive, on the basis of investments they made in their colonies. The wealth of India, of which British imperialism seized the largest share, was the beginning of the formation of the British savings which were used in the development of agriculture and industry in Britain.

If Britain has reached its period of drive, depending on the Lancashire textile industry, the transformation of Egypt into a large field for cotton growing pumped the blood through the artery of British economy leaving the Egyptian peasant starved.

Gone are the ages of imperialist piracy, when the peoples' wealth was looted to serve the interests of others with neither legal nor moral control. We should stamp out the remaining traces of those ages, especially in Africa.

Moreover, other expriments of progress realised their objectives at the expense of increasing the misery of the working people, either to serve the interests of the capital or under pressure of ideological applications which went to the extent of sacrificing whole living generations for the sake of others still unborn.

The nature of the age no longer allows such things.

Progress through looting or through the corvée system is no longer tolerable under the new humane values.

These humane values put an end to colonialism and an end to the corvée system. Not only did they achieve this but they also expressed positively the spirit and the ideals of the age when through science, those values introduced other methods of work to attain progress.

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Scientific socialism is the suitable style for finding the right method leading to progress.

No other method can definitely achieve the desired progress.

Those who call for freedom of capital imagining that to be the road to progress are gravely mistaken.

In the countries forced to remain underdeveloped, capital in its natural development is no longer able to lead the economic drive at a time, when the great capitalist monopolies in the advanced countries developed relying on the exploitation of the sources of wealth in the colonies.

The huge development of world monopolies leaves only two ways for local capitalism in the countries aspiring to progress :

First.—Local capitalism is no longer capable of competition without the customs protection paid for by the masses.

Second.—The only hope left for local capitalism to develop is to relate itself to the movements of world monopolies, following in their footsteps, thus turning into a mere appendage and dragging the country to doom.

On the other hand, the wide gap of underdevelopment which separates the advanced states and those trying to catch up, no longer allows the method of progress to be left to desultory individual efforts motivated by mere selfish profit.

These individual efforts are no longer capable of facing the challenge. Facing the challenge calls for three conditions :

(1) Assembling the national savings.

(2) Putting all the experiences of modern science at the dispoal of the exploitation of national savings.

(3) Drafting a complete plan for production.

These are concerned with increasing the product. On the other hand, fair distribution calls for planning programmes for social action, programmes that enable the popular working masses to reap the benefits of economic action and create the welfare society to which they aspire and struggle to promote.

Work aimed at expanding the base of national wealth can never be left to the haphazard ways of the exploiting private capital with its unruly tendencies.

The redistribution of the surplus national work on the basis of justice can never be accomplished through voluntary efforts based on good intentions however sincere they may be.

This places a definite conclusion before the will of the National Revolution, without the acceptance of which it cannot realise its objectives. This conclusion is the necessity for the people's control over all the tools of production and over directing the surplus according to a definite plan.

This socialist solution is the only way out to economic and social progress. It is the way to democracy in all its social and political forms.

The people's control over all the tools of production does not necessitate the nationalisation of all means of production or the abolition of private ownership or the mere touching of the legitimate right of inheritance following thereform. Such control can be achieved in two ways :

First.—The creation of a capable public sector that would lead progress in all domains, and bear the main responsibility of the development plan.

S econd.—The existence of a private sector that would, without exploitation, participate in the development without the framework of the overall plan provided that the people's control is exercised over both sectors.

This socialist solution is the only path where all elements participating in the process of production can meet, according to scientific rules, capable of supplying society with all the energies enabling it to rebuild its life on the basis of a carefully studied and comprehensive plan.

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Efficient socialist planning is the sole method which guarantees the use of all national resources, be they material, natural or human in a practical, scientific and humane way aimed at realising the common good of the masses, and ensuring a life of prosperity for them.

Efficient socialist planning is the guarantee for the sound exploitation of actually exisitng resources, or those which are latent or potential. At the same time, it is a guarantee for the continued distribution of fundamental services. It is also a guarantee for raising the standard of the services already now offered. It is a guarantee for extending those services to the areas which had fallen victim to negligence and inefficiency which were the outcome of long deprivation imposed by the selfishness of the ruling classes who looked down upon the stuggling people.

It follows then that planning must be a scientifically organised creative process that would meet the challenges facing our society. It is not a mere process of working out the possible, it is a process of achieving hope. Hence, planning in our society is required to find out a solution to the difficult formula. In the solution of that difficult formula lies the material and human success of the national action.

How can we increase production ?

At the same time how can we increase the consumption of goods and use of services ?

That, besides the constant increase of saving for the sake of new investments.

This difficult formula with its three vital branches requires the existence of a highly efficient organisation capable of mobilising forces of production, raising their material and intellectual efficiency, and relating them to the production process.

Such an organisation is required to be aware that the aim of production is to widen the scope of services and that services—in turn—are a driving force turning the wheels of production.

The relation between services and production and their rapid, smooth running movement creates a sound national blood circle vital to the life of the people wholly and individually.

This organistation must depend on centralisation in planning and decentralisation-implementation which ensures placing the planning programmes in the hands of all the people.

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Consequently, the major part of the plan should be shouldered by the public sector owned by the people as a whole.

This does not only ensure the sound development of the production process along the set path of productivity, but is also fair, considering that the public sector belongs to the people as a whole.

The national struggle of the masses was what provided the nucleus of the public sector, through the people's determination to retrieve and nationalise the foreign monopolies, and restore them to their natural and legitimate place, namely to their ownership by the whole people.

Even during the military fight against imperialism, that same national struggle added to the public sector all the British and French capital in Egypt - that capital was seized from the people at the time of foreign privileges and at a time when national wealth was subjected to the looting of foreign adventurers.

Moreover, in seeking social freedom and penetrating into the strongholds of class exploitation that national struggle was able to add to the public sector the major part of production equipment through the July 1961 laws and their deep revolutionary impact reflecting the will of overall change in Egypt.

Those gigantic steps which allowed the private sector to undertake the initial role in the progress lead, traced clear-cut lines imposed by national reality and a thorough study of the nation's circumstances, potentialities and aims.

Those lines and principles can be summed up in the following :

First.—In the field of production in general :

The major skeleton of the production operation such as the railways, roads, ports, airports, the potentialities of the driving force, the dams, means of sea, land and air transportation and other public services should be within the frame-work of public ownership.

Second.—In the field of industry :

The majority of the heavy, medium and mining industries should be part of public ownership. Although it is possible to allow private ownership in this domain, such private ownership should be controlled by the public sector owned by the people.

Light industries must always be beyond monopoly. Though this field is open to private ownership, the public sector must have a role enabling it to guide that industry to the people's interests.

Third.—In the field of trade :

Foreign trade must be under the people's full control. Here, all import trade must be within the framework of the public sector. Though it is incumbent upon private capital to participate in export trade, the public sector must have the main share in that field to preclude all possible fraudulency. If a percentage could be defined in that field, the public sector must be in charge of three quarters of exports, while encouraging the private sector to shoulder the responsibility of the remaining share.

The public sector must have a role in internal trade. The public sector should, within the coming eight years — remaining period of the first overall development plan for

doubling national income in ten years — take charge of at least one quarter of the internal trade to prevent monopoly and expand the range of internal trade before private and cooperative activities. It should be understood of course, that internal trade is service and distribution against reasonable profit which, under no cirsumstances, should reach the extent of exploitaton.

Fourth.—In the field of finance :

Bonds should be within the framework of public ownership. The role of capital is a nationalist part and should not be left to speculation and adventure. In addition, insurance companies should be within the same framework of public ownership for the protection of a major part of national saving and to ensure its sound orientation.

Fifth.—In the domain of land :

There should be a clear difference between two kinds of private ownership of that which opens the gates to exploitation, and non-exploiting ownership which does its share in the service of national economy while serving the interests of the owners themselves.

In the field of ownership of rural land, the Agrarian Reform laws have limited individual ownership to one hundred feddans. Yet, the spirit of the law implies that this limitation should cover the whole family namely : father, mother and children out of age, to avoid clustering together maximum ownerships allowing some form of feudalism. This spirit can be made to rule within the coming eight years provided the families affected by that law sell the land in excess of those limits in cash to the Agricultural Cooperative Societies or to others.

As regards ownership of buildings, the laws of progressive taxation of buldings, the laws rescuing rents and those defining levies, place ownership of buildings beyond exploitation.

Yet, constant supervision is imperative, although the increase in the public and cooperative housing will contribute in a practical manner, to combatting all attempts at exploitation in this field.

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Through the accomplishment of their great socialist achievement, the July 1961 laws are the biggest triumph of the revolutionary drive in the economic field.

These laws, an extension to other preliminaries, formed a bridge that led to the change to socialism with unprecedented success.

That decisive revolutionary phase should not have been completed with such efficiency and in such a peaceful spirit had it not been the deep faith and consciousness of the people, the pooling of their efforts to make a firm stand against the reactionary elements, invading their strongholds and asserting the people's mastery over the country's wealth. The glorious laws of July and the decisive way of their implementation, as well as the successful and brave efforts of hundreds of thousands of nationals working at the organisations whose ownership passed on to the people under those laws, at the delicate period following have insured the preservation and consolidation of productivity in those firms.

All this, while asserting the people's determination to own their resources, shows the people's ability to direct those resources and their readiness, through sincere elements to shoulder the most difficult and delicate responsibilities.

Undoubtedly, the measures adopted in the wake of the July socialist laws have successfully realised a liquidation that was incumbent and imperative.

Following a reactionary attempt to attack the social revolution, a drastic move to wipe out the vestiges of the era of feudalism, reaction and domination was effected.

This move cut short all attempts at infiltration or betrayal of the people's aspirations with the object of serving the personal interests of the ruling and dominating privileged classes.

These measures asserted that the people are unflinchingly determined to reject every form of exploitation whether it be the consequence of class inheritance or of parasitic opportunism.

However we should bear in mind that reaction has not been eliminated for ever. Reaction is still in possession of material and intellectual influences that may tempt it to stand in the way of the sweeping revolutionary current, particularly when it relies on the remnants of reaction in the Arab World, backed by the forces of imperialism.

The revolutionary vigilance is under all circumstances, capable of crushing every reactionary infiltration whatever its methods and whatever the supporting powers.

It is of prime importance that our outlook towards nationalisation be freed from the stigmas that private interests have tried to attach to it.

Nationalisation is but the transfer of one of the means of production from the sphere of private ownership to that of public ownership.

This is not a blow to individual initiative as alleged by the enemies of socialism put rather a guarantee to and an expansion of the range of general interest in cases urged by the socialist change effected for the benefit of the people.

Nationalisation does not lead to a decrease in production.

Experience has proved the ability of the public sector to shoulder the greatest responsibilities with maximum efficiency, whether in the achievement of the production targets or in the raising of the standard of its quality. Although some mistakes may occur during this great evolution we must recall that the new hands that have assumed the responsibility are

in need of training to undertake such responsibility. At any rate it was inevitable that the major national interests should be handed over to the people even at the cost of facing temporary difficulties.

Nationalisation is not as advocated by some opportunist elements a punishment inflicted upon private capital when it deviates and consequently should not be applied except for punishment.

The transfer of a means of production from the sphere of private ownership to that of public ownership is more significant than mere punishment.

The great importance attached to the role of the public sector, however, cannot do away with the existence of the private sector.

The private sector has its effective role in the development plan. It must be protected to fulfill that part.

The private sector is now required to renovate itself and strike a new path of creative effort not dependent, as in the past on parasitic exploitation.

The crisis which befell private capital before the Revolution actually stemmed from the fact that it had inherited the era of the foreign adventurers, who, in the 19th Century, helped transfer abroad the wealth of Egypt.

Private capital was accustomed to live under a protective trade policy which gave it benefits at the expense of the people. It was also accustomed to dominate the Government with the aim of pursuing a policy of exploitation.

It was futile that the people should bear the cost of this protective trade policy to enhance the profits of a group of capitalists who mostly were no more than local façades to foreign interests wishing to carry on their exploitation from behind the scenes.

Therefore, the people could not for ever remain indifferent before the manoeuvres to direct the government in favour of the minority controlling the wealth, and to guarantee the maintenance of their privileged position at the expense of the people's interests.

Progress through socialism is a consolidation of the bases of sound democracy, the democracy of all the people.

Progress in the political domain under capitalism-even if we imagined it possible in the present international conditions — can only mean a confirmation of the rule of the class, possessing and monopolising all interests.

In this event, the returns would go to a small minority of people who have so much money in excess that they squander it on various forms of wasteful luxury defying the deprivation of the majority.

This sharpens the edge of the class strife and wipes out every hope for democratic evolution.

But, the socialist path providing opportunities for a peaceful settlement of the class strife and affording possibilities for dissolving class distinctions, leads to the distribution of the returns among all the people according to the principle of equality of apportunity for all.

The socialist path thereby, paves the way for an inevitable political development leading to liberation from the rule of the feudalist dictatorship allied with capitalism and the establishment of the rule of democracy representing the rights and aspirations of the working people.

The political liberation of man cannot be achieved unless an end is put to every shackle of exploitation limiting his freedom.

Socialism and democracy form the wings of freedom with which socialism can soar to the distant horizons aspired to by the masses.

7.—PRODUCTION AND SOCIETY

Gone is the time when the destiny of the Arab Nation, its peoples and individuals was determined in the foreign capitals, at the tables of international conferences and in palaces of the forces of reaction, allied with imperialism.

The Arab man has required his right to fashion his life through revolution.

The Arab man shall determine by himself the destiny of his nation on the fertile fields, in the huge factories, from the top of the high dams and with the enormous energies of the driving power.

The battle of production is the true challenge in which the Arab man will justify his worthy position under the sun.

Production is the true criterion of the dynamic Arab force. By production we can end our underdevelopment, rush towards progress, face and overcome difficulties and intrigues, finally achieve victory over our enemy.

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The objective set by the Egyptian people, through the revolution, to double their national income, at least once every ten years, was not a mere slogan. It was the result of calculating the amount of the force required to face underedevelopment and rush for progress, keeping in mind the increasing rise of the population.

This increase constitutes the most dangerous obstacle that faces the Egyptian people in their drive towards raising the standard of production in their country in an effective and efficient way.

While the attempts at family planning with aim of facing the problem of the increasing population, deserve the most sincere efforts supported by modern scientific methods, the

need for the most rapid and efficient drive towards the increase of production necessitates that this problem should be taken into consideration in the process of production, regardless of the effects which may result from the experiment of family planning.

The doubling of the national income every ten years allows for a rate of economic development which greatly exceeds the rate of increase in the population. It also provides a real opportunity for raising the standard of living, in spite of this complicated problem.

The ability of the Egyptian people should be put to the test positively, by their adhering to that aim which should never be lost sight of by the national struggle. In fact, it is the true measure of the national will, and it is directly related to the attempts to shorten the period of doubling the national income to less than ten years, by as much as the national effort can bear. The attainment of this goal is possible through economic and social planning, without sacrifining the living generations of citizens for the sake of those still unborn.

To attain this goal it is not necessary to exhaust their energies under the pressure of responsibility, but all that it requires from them, is honest and systematic work, within the framework of the productive aims of the plan, and inspired by the social thought which outlines for it the way to set up the new society, as well as by what that thought can evolve in the way of new moral values, and broad and vital, humane ideas.

This requires colossal efforts in the fields of developing agriculture, industry and the chief skeletons of production necessary for this development, particularly the energies of driving force and means of transport.

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The Arab application of socialism in the domain of agriculture does not believe in nationalizing the land and transforming it into the domain of public ownership. But from experience and study, it believes, in individual ownership of land, within limits that would not allow for feudalism.

This conclusion is not just an outcome of responding to the sentimental longing of farmers for the ownership of land, but the fact is that this conclusion is derived from the real circumstances of the agricultural problem in Egypt. These circumstances have confirmed the ability of the Egyptian farmer for creative work, under favourable conditions.

The efficiency of the Egyptian farmer, throughout a long history, full of experience has reached a capacity of exploiting land to an advanced level, especially when the opportunity is provided for benefiting from the results of scientific agriccultural advance.

Moreover, long ago Egyptian agriculture arrived at sound socialist solutions to its most complicated problems. Foremost among these are irrigation and drainage, which are now in Egypt, and have been for a long time, within the framework of public services.

Thus, the right solutions to the problem of agriculture do lie in transferring land into public ownership, but they necessitate the existence of the individual ownership of land, and the expansion of the ownership by providing the right to own it to the largest number of wage earners together with supporting this ownership by means of agricultural cooperation, along all the stages of the process of agricultural production.

Agricultural co-operation is much more than mere simple credit, to which it was confined till recently.

It starts by the process of pooling agricultural exploitation, which proved to be very successful. It goes parallel with the financial process which protects the farmer and

liberates him from usurers and middlemen who take the largest part of the fruit of his labour. Co-operation also enables the farmer to use the most modern machines and scientific means to raise production. It helps the farmer in marketing, which enables him to obtain the highest returns for his continuous labour and toil.

The revolutionary solution to the problem of land in Egypt is by increasing the number of landowner.

Such was the aim of the laws of land reform issued in 1952 and 1961.

This aim-besides the other aims of raising production-was one of the motive powers behind the great irrigation projects, whose owerful symbol is the Aswan High Dam, for the sake of which the people of Egypt have suffered all sorts of armed, economic and psychological wars. This Dam has become the symbol of the will and determination of the people to fashion its life. It is also a symbol of its will to provide the right of land ownership for large multitudes of farmers, for whom this opportunity was never provided, throughout centuries of continuous feudal rule.

The success of this revolutionary attempt at solving the agricultural problem, based on increasing the number of landowners, cannot be consolidated except by agricultural co-operation, and by the expansion of its scope to the extent of providing a strong and vital economy for the small land holdings.

Besides, there are three areas, in which the great battle of production must take place for the sake of the development of the countryside. These are:

First:—The horizontal extension of agriculture, by reclaiming the desert and the waste land. The processes of land reclamation should never cease for a second. The area of green fields must become larger every day in the Nile Valley. We should reach a stage at which every

drop of the Nile water could be transformed on its banks into creative life that would not be wasted.

To-day many are waiting for their turns to own land in their country.

The future brings forth with every new generation crowds of those who look forward to owning land.

Second:—The vertical extension in agriculture through raising the productivity of cultivated land.

Modern chemistry has touched in a revolutionary way, the methods of cultivation. This is done through fertilisers and developing new kinds of seeds.

Moreover wonderful possibilities-through organised science—enable us to develop the animal wealth and thus definitely strengthen the agricultural economy of the farmer.

There are also big possibilities behind re-studying the economics of agricultural crops in the Egyptian land.

Variation of agricultural crops could be based on the results of that study.

Third:—The industrialisation of the countryside which is based on agriculture opens vast ranges for the chances of work in the country. We should always remember that industry due to mechanic progress cannot use the whole surplus of working hands on the cultivated land.

We should remember this at a time when we believe-beyond all doubt-that the right for work in itself is the right for life, in so far as it is the actual confirmation for the existence and the value of the human being.

Therefore, the labour problem should find part of its solution in the countryside. The industrialisation of the countryside, besides its ability to raise the value of agricultural production, supplies the working elements in the fields with new powers of technical workers who serve the agricultural production in all its stages.

The revolution of the production process in the countryside will help at the same time in finding organised human powers capable of changing the face of life in the villages in a revolutionary and decisive way.

Co-operation will create co-operative organisations that are able to drive human efforts in the countryside to face its problems.

In the same way the syndicates of agricultural workers shall be to mobilise the efforts of millions who have been wasted by wasted unemployment.

These are the cells that could breathe life anew in the countryside, and set up a civilisation bringing the village nearer to the level of the town.

That the village should reach a civilised level is not only a necessity imposed by justice, it is one of the fundamental necessities of the development.

The town has a moral responsbility towards the village. It has to undertake and accomplish serious work in the village without any feeling of superiority.

When the village reaches the civilised standard of the town particularly in the field of culture, the individual's awareness for planning will start. This awareness will be able to confront the most difficult problem which faces and threatens planning: namely the problem of the continuous increase of the population.

Deep awareness of the necessity of planning in the individual's life is the decisive solution to the problem of the continuous increase of the population. This awareness will change the individual's feeling of submission to Fate as regards the problem, and replace it with a feeling of responsibility that drives the individual to plan the family economy.

Industry is the strong support of the National build-up. Industry is capable of realising the greatest hopes in the field of social and economic evolution.

Industry is a creative energy that could respond to well-studied planning, and carry out its programmes. In so doing industry overcomes un-forseen difficulties, and so it is capable of enlarging the production base in a revolutionary and decisive manner, and in a very short time.

Our approach to industry must be deliberate, and must take into consideration all social and economic issues in the great battle of evolution.

From the economic point of view :

Our approach must aspire to the latest scientific achievements. If we obtain the advanced tools of work, we do not only make a sound start, but we also make up for our underdevelopment.

By means of new equipment, the Egyptian industry will have a distinguished position that compensates for the industrial progress which started in other countries at a time when the production instruments were not as advanced as they are now.

We must put aside the assumption which says that using modern instruments does not give a full chance of work, on the grounds that modern machines do not need large labour power.

This conception may prove sound at the beginning, but it is not valid in the long run. For modern instruments are capable of enlarging the base of production quickly. This opens new horizons of industrialisation, and so gives wider chances of labour as a result.

The fields of industrial work in Egypt are unlimited. Egyptian industry could extend creative work all over the Egyptian land.

The sources of natural and mineral wealth still keep many of their secrets. Large areas of land have been neglected for long.

Efforts aimed hitherto at exploiting these large areas of land were but scratches on its surface.

Only industrial scientific work can explore the wealth of the Egyptian land and exploit its natural and mineral riches to serve progress.

These sources can be the backbone industry that would create new tools of production. Special care should be devoted to heavy industries, for these only are the bases for modern industry.

Raw materials, whether agricultural or mineral, need local industrialisation which adds extra value to them in the markets.

Thus it cosolidates the capacity for industrial production and opens wide fields for labour.

Moreover, great concern should also be devoted to consumer industries. Apart from offering numerous possibilities of work, those industries meet an important share of consumer demands and save important sources of foriegn currency. In addition, those industries afford the possibility of expanding the volume of exports to markets which are close to us and where we still have not reached an internationally competitive position with regard to heavy industry.

The food industries-whieh are part of the consumer industries-can, more than any other, consolidate rural economy and afford unlimited possibilities for markets in developed countries where consumer demands increase with the raising of the standard of living.

In a general way, industrial planning must include the partial or total industrialisation possible of raw materials, for this achieves the biggest development targets.

It leads to an increase in production and meets cosumer demands, apart from affording opportunities to those capable of work and demand it as a sacred human right. Sūch industrialisation would also be a source of foreign currency that would help meet the ever increasing demands of development.

In the Social Domain:

Industry is resposible for establishing the essential human equilibrium between development demands and consumer needs.

The philosophy on which the industrialisation policy in Egypt was based has realised that aim, through the balance established between the heavy industry trend and that of consumer industries.

Heavy industry, no doubt, provides the solid foundation to the gigantic industrial set up. Yet, despite the definite priotrity that should be given to heavy industry, it must not hamper the progress of consumer industries.

The masses of our people have long been deprived ; to mobilize them completely for the building of the heavy industry and overlook their consumer needs is incompatible with their established right to make up for their long deprivation, and at the same time it delays—with no sound reason—the possibilities of responding to the people's wide hopes.

On the other hand, industry develops the shape of activity in Egypt, in a far-reaching manner. The great success achieved by industry since the beginning of its organised programmes in Egypt, was the practical support to the revolutionary rights obtained by the working class as part of the July 1961 laws.

Those revolutionary rights made machinery the property of work and not work the preperty of machinery.

The workman became master of the machine and not a cog in a wheel in the production set up.

Those revolutionary rights ensured a minimum wage, positive participation in management coupled with a true share in production profit sall within the framework of working conditions ensuring the dignity of the working man.

As a result, the working day has become seven hours.

This revolutionary change in labour rights must be met with a revolutionary change in labour duties.

Labour responsibility for the production equipment placed at its disposal by society as a whole, should be complete.

The production responsibility of labour through the equipment it safeguards and operates with honesty and efficiency, and through participation in mangament and profits, is complete.

The new system does not abolish the role of labour organisations, but rather adds to its importance. The new system expands this role. Those organisations no longer remain a mere counterpart of management in the production operation, but become the leading vanguard in development.

Labour unions can exercise their leading responsibilities through serious contribution to intellectual and scientific efficiency and thus increase productivity among labour. Those unions can also assume their functions by safeguarding labour rights and interests and by raising the workmen's material and cultural standards. This covers plans of cooperative housing, and cooperative consumption as well as the organisation of leave and free periods to bring health, psychological and intellectual benefits for the welfare of labour masses.

The position of labour in the new society can only be measured through success of industrial development, and the working potentialities and efficiency to achieve that aim.

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Expansion in the driving force potential and in establishing the main production skeletons is the basis of the drive towards the new production objectives in both agriculture and industry.

The penetration of the driving force into every part of Egypt supplies the revolutionary spark, capable of operating the potentials of the comprehensive econmic and social change from underdevelopment to the progress to which the national struggle aspires.

Efficient net works of railways, roads and airports should cover the whole country, since, easy transportation can perform miracles in the field of unity of production in the country and leads to common prosperity with no isolated part of the land.

The aspects of industrial production requirements afford great possibilities for non-exploiting national capital to perform, together with the public sector, an important and responsible role in the entire process of production.

Moreover, the maintenance of the role of the private sector beside that of the public sector, renders control over public ownership more effective.

By encouraging competition within the framework of the general economic planning, the private sector is also an invigoraing element to the public sector. The July 1961

revolutionary laws did not aim at destroying the private sector, but had two basic amis :

The creation of some form of economic equality among the citizens which ensures legitimate rights and removes the effects of a minority monopolising all opportunities at the expense of the majority, and at the same time, contributes to the dissolution of class distinctions in a way that enhances the possibilities of a peaceful struggle between them and paves the way for democratic solutions to the major problems confronting the process of development.

The second objective is to step up the efficiency of the public sector owned by the people, to consolidate its capacity to shoulder the responsibility of planning and to enable it to play its leading role in industrial development on a socialist basis.

These two objectives have been crowned with sweeping success confirming the power of the revolutionary drive and the depth of national unity.

The realisation of these two objective wipes out the residue of the conplexes created by exploitation that cast a shadow of doubt on the role of the private sector. Consequently, the path open to this sector today, to promote the process of development, is only restricted by the socialist laws now in force, or by the steps deemed necessary by the popular authorities elected in future.

The socialist framework carefully set up by the July laws wiped out the vestiges of exploitation and left door open to individual investment that would serve the general interest in the field of development. It would equally serve its owners by providing them with a reasonable profit without exploitation.

Those who claim that the July laws restricted individual initiative are committing a grave error.

Individual initiative must be based on work and risk. In the past, everything was based on opportunism rather than work, and on the protection of monopoly, which excluded every possibility of risk. This is the pretext individual capital uses to justifiy its share of profits.

On the other hand individual initiative as it existed was incapable of shouldering the responsibility of nationalist aspiration. The new investments now directed towards industry are a hundred time as much as the amount invested in the year preceding the Revoluion.

The redistribution of wealth does not impede development ; it actually invigorates it, since it increases the number of people able to invest.

Just like public capital, private capital, in its new role, must realise that it is subject to the directive of the popular authority. It is this authority that makes it laws and directs it according to the people's needs. It is able to check its activity if it attempts to exploit or deviate.

It is ready to protect it.

Yet, protection of the people is its first duty.

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Foreign capital and its role in local investment is a question we should deal with at this stage.

Foreign capital is regarded with dark doubts in underdeveloped countries particulary those which were colonised.

The sovereignty of the people over their land and their restoration of the helm, allow them to set the conditions under which foreign capital may be invested in the country.

The matter calls for the setting up of a system drawn from the essence of the national experience. It also takes

into account the nature of world capital always striving after unexploited raw materials in areas not yet ready for any economic or social revival, where it could obtain highest share of profit.

In the first place, in process of national evolution. all foreign aid with no strings attached, is accepted to help attain the national objectives. The aid is acccpted with sincere gratitude for those who offer it regardless of the colour of their flags.

In the second place, in the process of national evolution all unconditional loans are accepted provided they could be refunded without difficulty or strain. Experience shows that loans are a clear operation ; their problem completely ends with their amortisation and the reimbursement of their interests.

In the third place, in the process of national evolution, the participation of foreign capital as an investment is accepted in indispensable operations, especially those requiring new experience, difficult to find in the national domain.

Acceptance of foreign investment implies that a foreigner would participate in the administration. It also implies that a share of the annual profits would be transferred to the investors indefinitely. This matter should not be left without limitation.

First priority goes to unconditional aid.

The second place is reserved to unconditional loans.

There follows the acceptance of foreign investment in unavoidable circumstances, in aspects of modern evolution requiring international experience.

In their conscious revolutionary outlook, our people consider it the duty of the advanced states to offer aid to those still struggling for development.

In their conception of history our people believe the states with a colonialist past are, more than others, compelled to offer to the nations aspiring to development, part of the national wealth they sapped when that wealth was a booty for all looters.

Offering aid is the optional duty of the advanced states.

It is a form of a tax that must be paid by the states with a colonialist past to compensate those they exploited for so long.

Production is all to the people. It is at their service to realise their happiness and ensure the well-being of every individual.

Society is not an abstract conception.

Society is formed of every person living on the soil of the homeland, whose aspirations are bound by the aspirations of other citizens for a morrow cherished by them and for coming generations.

The true object of production is to provide the greatest amount of services which would be the banners of prosperity flying over society.

In proportion to the expansion of the base of production, and the new national investments that could be increased daily through national effort, new scopes are opened affording equal opportunities for all citizens.

"Equality of opportunity" the expression of social freedom can be defind in basic rights for every citizen.

Efforts must be devoted for their realisation.

First : The right of each citizen to medical care, whether treatment or medicine, would not become a commodity for sale and purchase. It would become a guaranteed right not

dependent on a certain price. This care should be within the reach of every citizen, in every part of the country, and in easy circumstances rendering service possible. Health insurance must be expanded to embrace all citizens.

Second : The right of each citizen to receive education which suits his abilities and talents. Education is the means of consolidating and honouring human freedom ; it is also the energy which can rejuvenate national action and daily adds new ideas to it and bring in leading and serious elements in its various fields.

Third.—The right of each citizen to secure the job which accords with his abilities and interests and the type of education he has received. Beside being of economic importance in a man's life, work is an assertion of human existence itself.

In this respect, it is indispensable that there should be a legally sanctioned minimum of wages. Similarly, justice rules that there should be a maximum of income fixed by the taxation system.

Fourth.—Insurance against old age and sickness must be provided on a much larger scale so that protection is afforded to those who have taken their share in the national struggle and for whom the time has come to be sure of their right to security and rest.

Since the childern of to-day are the makers of our future, it is the duty of working generations to provide them with all the chances that will enable them later to assume successfully the responsibility of leadership.

Woman must be regarded as equal to man and must therefore, shed the remaining shackles that impede her free movement so that she might take a constructive and profound part in shaping life.

The family is the first cell in a society and it must therefore, be afforded all means of protection so that it might be better able to preserve the national tradition, to rejuvenate its texture, and to carry along the whole of society in the direction of the goals set by the national struggle.

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The welfare society is able to formulate new moral values, not subject to the influence of the remaining pressures left over from ailments, from which our society had so long.

In their turn these new values must be reflected in a free national culture which awakens the sense of beauty in the life of the free individual.

The freedom of religious belief must be regarded as sacred in our new free life.

The eternal spiritual values derived from religions are capable of guiding man, of lighting the candle of faith in his life and of bestowing on him unlimited capacities for serving truth, good and love. In their essence all divine messages constituted human revolutions which aimed at the reinstatement of man's dignity and his happiness. It is the prime duty of religious thinkers, then, to preserve for each religion the essence of its divine message.

The essence of religious messages does not conflict with the facts of our life; the conflict arises only in certain situations as a result of attempts made by reactionary elements to exploit religion - against its nature and spirit - with a view to impeding progress. These elements fabricate false interpretations of religion in flagrant contradiction with its noble and divine wisdom.

All religions contain a message of progress. But the forces of reaction, desiring to monopolise all the goods of the earth and use them to serve their own selfish interests alone, committed the crime of attaching their greed and cupidity to religion and of reading into it something that contradicts its very spirit with the object of stemming the current of progress.

The essence of all religions is to assert man's right to life and to freedom. In fact, the basis of reward and punishment in religion is equality of opportunity for every man. Every individual starts his religious life before his Maker with a blank sheet, so to speak, on which are recorded his deeds accomplished by his own free will. No religion can accept a system of class distinction, by which the majority inherit the punishment of poverty, ignorance and disease while a small minority monopolise the reward of all prosperity.

God in His great wisdom has made equality of opportunity the basis of His judgement of all people.

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We must always bear in mind that; for an individual, freedom is the greatest stimulus to struggle.

Slaves can carry loads of stone, but only free men are able to soar high among the stars.

Free conviction is the firm basis of all faith. Without freedom, faith would turn into fanaticism which is a barrier that shuts out all new thought and keeps those who suffer from it untouched by the constant current of evolution enhanced by the efforts of all people everywhere.

Freedom alone is capable of impelling man to move forward and to catch up with those who are ahead of him.

Free man is the basis of a free society which he alone can set up.

The freedom of an individual to shape his destiny, to define his position in society, to express his opinion, and by means of his thought and experience and hopes to take an active part in leading and directing the evoloution of his society is inalienable human right which must be protected by law.

We must clearly realise that in a free society law is subservient to freedom and is not a sword drawn in its face.

Similarly we must clearly realise that no individual can be free unless he is first liberated from the shackles of exploitation.

It is this fact that makes social freedom a way, to achieve political freedom.

Our immediate aim is to do away with exploitation, and to make possible the exercise of the natural right to have an equal opportunity, to dissolve class distinctions and to end the domination of one class and hence remove the clash between classes which constitutes a threat to the freedom of the individual citizen, and even to the freedom of the whole of the country, by violating the rights of the people which creates the chance of exposing the country, to the lurking dangers of foreign forces vigilantly on the look out to drag it to the arena of cold war and make of it its battlefield and of its people fodder for their guns. The removal of the clash between classes which arises out of interests that can never be reconciled, between those who exercise exploitation and those crushed by exploitation in the past society, cannot overnight lead to the dissolution of all class distinctions or lead to social freedom and true democracy.

Yet, the removal of the clash between classes, makes it possible, by eliminating the exploiting class, to dissolve peacefully class distinctions, and to open the gates for democratic exchange which brings the whole society nearer the age of true freedom.

That was one of the great social objectives of the July laws which directed a deadly blow at the centers of exploitation and monopolies.

That great revolutionary action, made it possible to have democracy for the first time in Egypt.

While the free world acts like a spotlight before true democracy, free justice is equally, an ultimate guarantee of its limits.

Freedom of speach is the first premise of democracy.

The prevelance of law is its final guarantee.

Freedom of speech is the expression of freedom of thought in all its manifestations. All guarantees should be provided for freedom of the Press, which is the most outstanding form of freedom of speech.

True democracy, in its profound sense, eliminates the contradiction between the people and the government, when it transforms the press into a pular means. But like representative councils the free Press should be an honest censor of the means of the popular will.

The supremacy of law requires a conscious development of its articles and texts, so as to express the new value in our society.

Again, law, which is in itself one of the forms of freedom must accompany it in its drive towards progress. Its articles should not be restriction keeping new values out of our life.

The road to freedom is now paved, there is neither barrier nor obstacle.

The new society, which the Arab people of Egypt are building on the basis of sufficiency and justice, needs a strong shield, in a world the moral standards of which have not risen to the level of its intellectual progress.

The role of the United Arab Republic Armed Forces is to defend the process of social construction against external dangers. The Armed Forces must be ready to crush any imperialist reactionary attempt at preventing the people from realizing their great aspirations.

That is why the people offer their Armed Forces what makes them always ready and places them in a position of power to enable them always to serve their aspirations with absolute loyalty and dedication.

The Armed Forces of the United Arab Republic should enjoy a decisive superiority on land, sea and air. They should be capable of quick movement within the Arab area, the security of which is primarily the responsibility of the United Arab Republic Armed Forces. Moreover these forces must be armed in a way in keeping with modern scientific progress, and must possess sufficient deterring weapons to stem the greed of ambitious powers and defeat them should they start any aggression.

There is no doubt that self-development is the best way of defence against lurking dangers. But we must realize that we live in an area exposed to aggressive ambitions. The prime aim of our enemies is to prevent us from reaching the stage of strength which achieves development, so that we may always remain at the mercy of threats.

The United Arab Republic which is, in particular, the vanguard, base and fighting fortress of the Arab progressive

struggle, is the natural target of all the enemies of the Arab nation and of its progress.

The world imperialist forces and monopolies aim at a fixed target namely to put the Arab territory extending from the Ocean to the Gulf under its military control, in order to be able to continue its exploitation and loot its wealth.

Imperialist intrigues went to the extent of seizing a part of the Arab territory of Palestine, in the heart of the Arab Motherland, and usurping it without any justification of right or law, the aim being to establish a military Fascist regime, which cannot live except by military threats.

The real danger of this threat emanates from the fact that Israel is the tool of imperialism.

At present the United Arab Republic is, both historically and actually the only Arab Nation which can assume the responsibility of building a national army, capable of deterring imperialist, Zionist aggressive plans.

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The continued popular march towards economic and social progress makes the national army a true shield to protect the struggle, rather than a mere superficial crust that covers the border lines.

The effectiveness of national armies lies in the national, economic and social power. For, progress is the huge store that supplies the means of fighting with its material and human needs, which can repel any challenge and win and maintain victory.

We must always bear in mind that the needs of defence should never have the upperhand over the needs of development.

If defence is not supported by development, it will not be able to stand for long the strain of the continuous battle.

But economic and social development is the heart that provides the striking force of the nation with power and steadfastness, and enables it to deal fateful blows to the enemy, however long the battle may last.

Our society believes that freedom for the Motherland and the citizen can be provided, after all, by peace based on justice.

But until time comes when its great principles are settled and prevail all over the world, our society has to be always ready to support peace by power, for the sake of the freedom of the Motherland and the citizen.

Creative human labour is the only means for our society to achieve its aims.

Labour is an honour. It is also a right, a duty and a sign of life.

Human labour is the only key to progress.

The nature of our times can never accept ny means for the realization of aspirations other than human labour.

In the past centuries other societies were able to realize their drive by providing the investments for national development, through looting the wealth of colonies, exploiting the riches of peoples and forcing them to slave labour, for the sake of others.

In other societies, this drive became possible, under circumstances of exploiting the working class in an inhuman way, to serve interests of national and foreign capitalism.

This drive was realized in other experiments under extremely cruel pressure exercised on living generations, who were deprived of all the fruit of their labour, for the sake of a promised future, that they could not see or reach. Again, other peoples achieved their drive but after they had been subjected to inhibitions, terror and oppression.

The nature of our times can no longer tolerate all this.

Mankind is now aware of the evils of imperialism, has pledged itself to wipe it out.

The working class cannot be driven through forced labour to realize the objectives of production.

The creative energies of peoples can shape the morrow without being driven towards it through mass bloodshed.

Scientific progress makes it possible and practical for peoples to achieve their drive without resorting to such obsolete means.

Besides, the nature and the ideals of the age render the use of such obsolete means impossible.

Organised national action, which is based on scientific planning is the path leading to the desired future.

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National action based on planning must be clear to the machinery of production at all levels. The responsibility of each individual in this action must be clear to him, so that he may, at any time, know his exact position in the national action.

This demands that the overall plan — as regards its economic and social objectives — should be translated into detailed programmes to be put within the reach of the machinery of production.

This also demands the imposition of time limits production as regards quantity and quality. The productive powers should adhere to these time limits, provided that the whole process is accomplished within the framework of the allotted investments.

Quantity and quality in the production process cannot be separated from the working out of time and cost. Otherwise, we lose the vital balance of the production process and, thus, expose it to danger.

The same applies to the programmes of services.

Every citizen should be aware of his defined responsibility in the whole plan, and should be fully conscious of the definite rights he will enjoy in the event of the success of the

plan. This consciousness leads to a distribution of responsibility on the scale of the whole nation, in a way that expands the possibilities of realising objectives. It is at the same time a revolutionary process carrying the meaning of national action from the sphere of vague generalities to the clarity of experience. This clarity of experience relates the individual human being, in his daily struggle, to the whole movement of society, and moves him in the direction of history, At the same time, it enables the individual human being to direct the movement of history.

The philosophy of national action should be conveyed to all working powers in the various fields.

It should be conveyed to each of them in the way that suits him best.

That will be a constant guarantee to the existence of a relation between thought and experience, between theoretic doctrine and practical application.

Mental clarity is the greatest help for the success of experience. Similarly, experience, in its turn, adds to the clarity of thought, strengthens and enriches it and enables it to act and react upon reality.

From this creative exchange, national action acquires greater potentialities for the achievement of success.

In this respect, it is most necessary to encourage the written word so that it may be a link among all, a link that can be easily preserved for the future. Moreover, it forms an important link in the relation between thought and experience.

It is necessary to encourage those who are responsible for the policy of national action, to record their thoughts to be put before those responsible for the execution of this national action. Similarly, it is necessary to encourage all those in charge of execution to record their remarks to be put before those responsible for guidance.

This issue cannot be left to mere chance. It should be organised.

Its organization will supply the national action with unlimited horizons of thought combined with details of practical application, which will increase the store of national efficiency and widen the range of profit.

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Great periods of change are naturally full of dangers which are themselves part of the nature of such periods.

The greatest means of insurance against these dangers, however, lies in the exercise of freedom, particularly through elected popular councils.

The whole of the national action, at all its levels, can never safely achieve its objectives except through democracy.

To apply democracy we should see that it is maintained in all production centres and so enable all working in them to devote their national and technical efforts towards the perfection of the task. Certainly, this will be accomplished in accordance with a hierarchical system of responsibility.

To apply democracy, the authority of popular councils should have authority over all production centres and over the machinery of local or central administration.

This is a constant guarantee for the authority of determining the objectives of production remaining in the hands of the people.

At the same time, it is a guarantee for the people to have the authority of censorship over the execution of these objectives.

Exercising criticism and self-criticism always gives national action an opportunity to correct and adjust itself to its great objectives.

The peoples' struggle and their effort to achieve progress always pay for any attempt to hide or ignore truth.

If popular leaderships allow truth to be hidden or ignored, they not only fail to fulfil their duties towards the people who placed leadership in their hands, but they also isolate themselves from their masses, and admit their inability to solve the problems of these masses. Accordingly it becomes inevitable for such leaderships to give up their office or for the people to overthrow them and withdraw from them their responsibilities granted to them by the people.

Freedom of constructive criticism, and brave self-criticism are necessary guarantees for setting up the national structure on a sound basis.

Yet these guarantees are more inevitable during periods of successive change in the history of revolutionary action.

Exercising freedom in this way is not only necessary for safeguarding national action, but it is also necessary for enlarging its base and for providing guarantee for those who are involved in it.

Exercising freedom in this way is the effective method for mobilising many elements who may hesitate to participate in national action.

Freedom is the sole means that would put an end to the passivity of these elements and induce them to work willingly for the objectives of the struggle.

Exercising freedom following the great revolutionary operation redistributing the national wealth in July 1961 does not form a danger to the security of national struggle. It is, rather, a safety-valve for it. For exercising freedom creates the popular force capable of pounding on every attempt for conspiracy aimed at robbing the people of the fruits of its struggle.

Further, exercising freedom creates renewed leaderships of revolutionary action and enlarges these leaderships. It also pushes them forward and creates a leadership of collective thought capable of checking the arbitrary tendencies of individuals and thus providing long-term guarantees for national action.

Freedom of leaderships must derive its right from the freedom of the popular base. Leaderships cannot undertake their tasks through force and fanaticism.

Real leadership consists in being sensitive to the demands of the people, in expressing these demands, and in finding means to answer them and in mobilising the people's powers to back the efforts designed to meet these demands.

The new constitution must organise the operation of popular leadership referring to their bases to confirm their responsibility before the original sources of their power. We must always remember that the popular bases are charged with spontaneous revolutionary impulses. The revolutionary impulses of the bases and their constant insistence on progress will form a driving force for the revolutionary quality of the leadership.

To set in motion the people's energies towards action must not be attempted through immersing the masses into hope. The great change by nature, is accompanied by looking forward to the objectives of the struggle on a long-term basis. Yet, it is most necessary on this period to make it clear before the people that achieving the aspired at objectives is difficult. The mere revolutionary change in the structure of the society of the past does not realise the dreams of the masses. Continuous efforts alone are capable of converting dreams into realities.

No one has the right, in this stage, to deceive the masses with hopes. Revolutionary honesty necessitates that the masses should have a full picture of their responsibilities so that they may achieve their hopes.

That should constantly be taken into consideration. It should be accompanied, however, with a due consideration of the grand aspirations of the masses, and at the same time due consideration of the morale of those responsible for directing the work designed to realise these aspirations.

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Intellectual adolescence forms a danger that we should face and crush. Those who try to shape the national struggle into forms, or interpret it in terms, that would check its drive, and those who spread hesitation, minimize the strength of society in proportion to their own weakness and incapacity for creative thought that springs from the national reality.

National progress cannot be achieved through high sounding slogans.

Liberating the creative energies of any people is a task closely related to history, nature, and the common and effective developments on the world where that people lives.

No people can start progress from vacuum, for vacuum leads people nowhere

The danger of intellectual adolescence during this stage creates a sort of intimidation which hinders the process of trial and error.

The new leaderships undertaking to set in motion national development constitute an enormous force which must be protected if they are to carry out their tasks with the required degree of success. The wealth which this country, the maker of civilization, possesses in the way of experts and technicians in all spheres, is very great and must be vigilantly guarded, protected and developed.

Yet, on certain occasions these leaderships are in need of being protected against themselves.

Such leaderships may wrongly assume that the great problems of national development can be solved by the complicated procedures of bureaucracy and administration. But, such procedures only add fresh burden to national action without in any way helping it.

If allowed to persevere in their wrong assumption, these leaderships would become an insulating class that would stop the flow of the revolutionary action and prevent its results from reaching the masses which are in need of them. Administration commits a grievious error if it imagines its huge machinery to be an end in itself. Such machinery is only a mean to service and ensure that it is properly rendered to the people.

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The struggle for power equally leads to a paralysis of leaderships working for national development, since each of them will in this case stand as an obstacle in the way of the other's efforts, impede its work and cancel its effect.

Similarly, the accumulation of great powers in few hands idisputably leads to the passage of real power to those who are not in fact responsible before the people. It was this consideration that was the real cause of the enactment of the revolutionary law that stipulated that there should only be one job for one man-which was not only a just procedure, but constituted also an attempt to bring the country to the point where each man holds the job which suits his particular abilities and experiences.

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The new leaderships must be aware of their social role. The gravest danger to which they can possibly be exposed at this stage is for them to deviate from their right path and imagine themselves to represent a new class that has replaced the old and has taken over its privileges.

In this process of national development those in charge of great projects need to believe that over expenditure, even when no private profit is envolved is a kind of deviation ; it is a squandering of the wealth of the people which constitutes the necessary fuel in this battle of development.

Over-expenditure includes unjustified excess in production costs, and at the same time failure to study new projects in a responsible manner and it extends to negligence in execution and lack of the vigilance necessary for the correct procedure of work.

All these are dangers typical of the period of great changes. But, given freedom, it is possible to overcome and limit their effect.

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Revolutionary action should be scientific. The revolution is not an action to wipe out the ruins of the past but rather to build up the future.

If the revolution were to relinquish science it would become a mere nervous outburst enabling the nation to let off steam, but, it would not change its state,

Science is the true weapon of revolutionary will. Here emerges the great role to be undertaken by the universities and educational centres on various levels.

The people are the leaders of the revolution.

Science is the weapon with which revolutionary triumph can be achieved.

Science alone can guarantee that trial and error in the national action would lead to a development with guaranteed consequences. Without science, trial and error become haphazard tendencies that may succeed once but fail scores of times.

The responsibility of the universities and scientific research centres in shaping the future is not less important than responsibility of the various popular authorities.

Without science popular authorities may inflame the enthusiasm of the people. With science alone, can they hope to realise, the demands of the people.

Therefore, the universities are not ivory towers but rather forerunners discovering a mode of life for the people.

Our liability to master the various branches of science is the only way left for us to compensate for underdevelopment. If the national struggle reaches our advanced science, it would have a greater opportunity for progress ; it would make the former underdevelopment seem an advantage, for then by comparison, the new achievement would appear spectacular. If the nations on whom underdevelopment was imposed, could now make a start supported by advanced science, they would thereby be at a starting point, superior to that from which other advanced nation began.

They would thus have a strong impetus to catch up with those advanced nations and surpass them.

The major economic and social problems confronting our people, at present, must be resolved on a scientific basis.

The scientific research centres are required at this stage of the struggle to develop themselves so that science would be in the service of society. At this stage, science for its own state, is a responsibility which our national potentiality cannot shoulder.

Therefore, science for society should be the motto of the cultural revolution at the present stage. The achievement of the objectives of the national struggle will enable us at a further stage of our development, to make a positive contribution to the world in the domain of science for its own sake.

Science for society is not an obstacle that binds the scientists to deal with problems of every day life, this would be a limited interpretation of the loaf of bread we are seeking to obtain.

We cannot waste a moment before entering the atomic age. We lagged behind in the age of steam and the age of electricity. This underdevelopment, although arbitrarily imposed by imperialism, has and still is costing us a great deal. We are now required, at the dawn of the atomic age, to join those who have embarked on this age.

Atomic energy for war is our objective.

Atomic energy for prosperity is able to perform miracles in the struggle of national development. We should always remember that spiritual energies, which people derive, from their ideals of divine religions and cultural heritage can perform miracles.

These spiritual energies of the people can provide a dynamic power for the realisation of the popular aspirations. They also arm the peoples with patience and courage, with which to confront every possibility and overcome all difficulties and obstacles.

While the organisation of development requires, of necessity, material foundations, spiritual and moral incentives are able, alone, to furnish this development with the noblest ideals and most sublime objectives.

9.—ARAB UNITY

The responsibility of the United Arab Republic, in effecting, consolidating and safeguarding evolution embraces the Arab Nation as a whole.

The Arab Nation is no more in need of giving evidence of the unity binding its peoples.

Unity has passed this stage and is identified with the Arab existence itself. Suffice it that the Arab Nation has a unity of language, forming the unity of mind and thought.

Suffice it that the Arab Nation is characterised by the unity of history creating unity of conscience and sentiments.

Suffice it that the Arab Nation enjoys a unity of hope, the basis of the unity of future and fate.

Those who are attempting to undermine the concept of Arab unity in its foundation, giving as proof the difference among the Arab governments, are looking at the matter in a superficial way.

The mere existence of those differences is in itself, an indication of the existence of this unity.

These differences stem from the struggle in the Arab world.

The rallying of the popular, progressive elements in every part of the Arab Nation, and the rallying of the elements of reaction and opportunism in the Arab world are indications that the same social currents are sweeping over in the Arab Nation, guiding and coordinating its steps across the artificial barriers.

The rallying of the popular progressive elements, having one and the same hope in every part at the Arab territory and the rallying of the forces of reaction, having interests in every part of the Arab world are actually more indicative of unity than dissension.

The concept of Arab unity no longer requires a meeting of the rulers of the Arab Nation and portray solidarity among the governments.

The phase of the social revolution has developed through that superficial concept of Arab unity and led that concept to a stage where unity of objective was a symbol of unity.

The unity of objective is a substantial fact for the popular base in the entire Arab Nation.

The disparity in the objectives of the rulers is an aspect of the inevitable revolutionary progress and the diversity of the stages of development attained by the Arab peoples.

Yet, the unity of objectives of the popular bases will be capable of bridging the gap between various stages of development.

The unity of the Arab Nation has attained a stage of solidarity enabling it to cope with the stage of the social revolution.

The methods of military coup d'état ; the methods of individual opportunism and the methods adopted by the ruling reaction can only indicate that the old regime in the Arab World is madly in despair and is gradually losing its nerves, while bearing at a distance from its isolated palaces the steps of the masses advancing towards their objectives,

The unity of objective must be slogan of Arab unity in its progress from the phase of political revolution to that of social revolution.

The slogan that was useful at earlier stages of the national struggle, namely that of the political revolution against imperialism, must be rejected.

Imperialism has now changed its attitude and has become incapable of directly confronting the people. Its natural hideout was within the palaces of reaction.

Imperialism itself has unwittingly helped advance the date of the social revolution, when it took cover behind the exploiting elements which it directs.

As matter of fact, genuine revolutions has benfited from action of their adversaries thereby obtaining a new impetus.

Imperialism has unmasked itself and so has reaction by being too eager to cooperate with it.

It, therefore, became incumbent upon the people to strike at them and defeat them at one and the same time to assert the triumph of the political revolution in the remaining parts of the Arab Nation, and to consolidate the Arab man's right to a better social life that he could not attain except by revolutionary means.

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At this stage, the Arab task is in need of all the experience achieved by the Arab Nation in its long, glorious history. It is also in need of its profound wisdom as much as it is in need of its revolutionary spirit and will to effect a drastic change.

Unity cannot be nor should it be imposed. Actually the nation's main objectives should be equally honorable in their ends and means. Therefore, coercion of any kind is contrary to unity.

Not only is it an immoral action, but it also constitutes a menace to the national unity of each Arab people, and therefore it is a threat to the concept of the unity of the Arab Nation as a whole.

Arab unity is not a uniform constitutional form that must inevitably be applied. It is rather a long path with several stages leading to the ultimate aim. In the Arab World any nationalist government representing the will and

struggle of the people within a framework of national independence is a step towards unity, in the sense that it eliminates every contradiction between that government and the ultimate goals of unity.

Any partial unity in the Arab World expressing a popular will of two or more of the Arab peoples is an advanced step towards unity, drawing near the day of total unity, paving the way for it and extending its roots in the Arab soil, Such circumstances pave the way before the call for total Arab unity.

If the United Arab Republic considers it her message to strive for complete Arab unity, attainment of this objective would be promoted by the clear cut methods that must, at this stage of the Arab struggle, be defined in a decisive and binding manner.

The call for peace is the first step.

The scientific application of all the progressive concepts of unity contained in this call is the second step towards achievement of a positive result. Speeding up the various stages of development towards unity would create—as experience has shown—economic and social loopholes that could be exploited by the elements opposed to unity to undermine it.

The development of the action for unity towards its ultimate and comprehensive objective must be accompanied by practical efforts to fill the economic and social gaps stemming from the difference in the stages of development of the various peoples of the Arab Nation.

This difference was imposed by the isolationalist elements of reaction and imperialism.

Great and conscious efforts must be channelled to pave the way for new intellectual trends so that they could face destructive attempts, overcome the remnants of intellectual

disintegration caused by the pressure of the circumstances of the 19th Century and first half of the 20th Century, and wipe out the traces of the intrigues and manoeuvres, often blocki g a clear vision.

The United Arab Republic, firmly convinced that she is an integral part of the Arab Nation, must propagate her call for unity and the principles it embodies, so that it would be at the disposal of every Arab citizen, without hesitating for one minute before the outworn argument that this would be considered an interference in the affairs of others.

In this sphere, the United Arab Republic should take care not to become involved in the local party disputes in any Arab state. This would place the call for unity and its principles beneath its level.

If the United Arab Republic feels that it is her bounded duty to support every popular, national movement, this support must remain within the framework of the basic principles, leaving the manoeuvres of the struggle to the local elements to rally the national potentialities and drive the struggle towards its end in conformity with the local process of development and potentialities.

The United Arab Republic is, therefore, required to open new vistas for cooperation between all the nationalist progressive movements in the Arab World. She is required to react intellectually with them for the benefit of the common experience. However, she cannot impose on them a precise form for revolution.

The establishment of a union between the nationalist popular progressive movements in the Arab World will impose itself on the coming stages of the struggle.

This does not and should not affect the existence of the Arab League. If the Arab League is not able to lead the Arab cause towards its noble and ultimate objective, it can at least lead it a few steps forward.

The peoples wish the complete fulfilment of their aspirations.

The Arab League—being a league of governments—connot go beyond what is possible. What is possible is a step forward towards the ultimate aim.

Achievement of the part helps to bring nearer the day when the whole can be attained.

Therefore, the Arab Leauge deserves every support, taking into consideration its actual capactiy limited by the circumstances of its foundation and by its own nature.

The Arab League is able to coordinate certain aspects of Arab activity at the present stage. At the same time, it should not under any pretext and while refuting any allegation, become a means to freeze the present, thereby undermining the future.

10.—FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of the people of the United Arab Republic is a true and faithful reflection of its national action. If the foreign policy of a people ceases to be such a reflection it becomes a sham pretence that exposes itself and sheer hypocricy and a mere trading in slogans.

Such is the force in which reactionary governments find themeselves involved when they try in a misleading way, to borrow a glittering foreign policy which does not echo or truly express national reality.

Such governments are unmasked by conscious peoples who avenge themselves on them and exact from their governments the price of their attempted deception.

As a true and faithful reflection of its national action the foreign policy of the people of the United Arab Republic runs in three channels, dug deep and straight by means of the struggle of a brave people that stood against, and triumphed over, all kinds of pressure.

The three deep channels in which the foreign policy of the United Arab Republic runs and which express all her national principles are the following:

War on imperialism and domination. Fighting against imperialism with all the country's potentialities and in every possible way, exposing it in all its shapes and masks and waging a battle on it in all its dens.

Labouring to consolidate peace, since the atmosphere and possibilities of peace are the only favourable chance for the protection of national progress.

Lastly, international cooperation for the sake of prosperity, since the common prosperity of all peoples is no longer divisible and to achieve it, collective cooperation has now become imperative.

In its fight against imperialism, the people of the U. A. R. have set a living and almost a still legendary example in the history of the struggles of peoples.

Our people were able to expose the Ottoman imperialism which they resisted in spite of its subtle attempts to hide itself behind the mask of Islamic Caliphate.

Our people too resisted the French invasion with the result that the adventure who shook the whole of Europe was obliged to sail forth by night back to France across the Mediterranean.

Later, they withstood the plots of world imperialism and international monopolies which used as their tool the Mohamed Ali Dynasty.

The waves of revolution then surged, one following upon the other and after many years of noble sacrifice, they swept all the barriers put up by imperialism on our soil to defend its existence. Our people stood against three Empires, the Ottoman, the French and the British, resisted their invasion of their soil and emerged triumphant in the end.

For decades, even for centuries, our people paid a high price for the victories they achieved over imperialism. But, eventually, they achieved the victory which in the opinion of history justified all their sacrifices and made their value appear even greater.

After the great revolutionary victory achieved in the morning of July 23rd, and on the people's road of revolutionary progress, the victorious crowds trod upon the remains of the alien royal era, stormed the strongholds of feudalism, and pulled out the roots of the forces of reaction. They were the mainstay of imperialism in our country. After our people had attacked and destroyed them, imperialism lost

its link with our pure Motherland and the remaining step was therefore to force its forces to bring down their flags, swallow their pride and depart across the sea.

After decades of imperialism, our people managed to make the forces of aggression evacuate twice in one year. That was in 1956 a decisive year in our national struggle.

Imperialism, which evacuated our country according to an agreement put into effect in June 1956, was soon to come back in October of the same year, thinking that it was able to subjugate the will of our people, to humiliate them and oblige them to submit to the will of the imperialists.

Our people, who were determined to protect their independence, to reject all the imperialist tricks designed to drag them into spheres of influence, led a stupendous resistance in the whole of the Middle East against the Baghdad Pact until it collapsed, and did not hesitate to oppose the armed tripartite aggression in which two of the world's great powers took part. These powers launched their attack from Israel, the base of imperialism, which was brought into existence by means of plots with the object of intimidating the Arab Nation and tearing it apart.

In the battle of Suez, imperialism revealed itself, its bases and its accomplices.

Armed imperlialism pounced upon the people of Egypt because those people were trying to realise their indepenence and achieve progress by making use of one of their own national resources which had for long been exploited by imperialism, and the value and profits of which had been monopolised by it.

By regaining the Suez Canal, the Egyptian people dealt a death blow to imperialism and monopolies.

They proved their strong mettle in their resolute acceptance of all the consequences of their determination to the extent of consenting to enter into armed conflict with overwhelming forces.

By their admirable steadfastness and their bitter fighting against the invaders, the Egyptian people managed to shake world conscience and move it in a manner unprecedented in the course of international events.

The admirable turn the battle took constituted a turning point in the history of liberation movements.

The striving people who had been facing the mighty tyrants alone, became no longer alone.

As a result of the brave national resistance, the situation was completely reversed.

Those who rallied against our people in an attempt to isolate them found themselves isolated from the whole, world while all the peoples of the world stood by our people, and waved to them to express their greetings and support.

The bitter defeat of imperialism in the Suez War has put an end to the age of armed imperialistic adventures.

Thanks to the struggle of our people, the end of that loathsome age came for all the peoples of the world.

Imperialism, which still retained its objectives, soon changed its method.

Yet, our people were on the alert, vigilantly looking out for any imperialist attempts at disguise which they continued to trace and against which they rallied the powers of other peoples.

In insisting on combating all military pacts aimed at dragging the peoples, against their own will, into the orbit of imperialism our people raised the voice of truth, loudly cautioning and warning on all occasions.

The insistence of our people on liquidating the Israeli aggression on a part of the Palestine land is a determination to liquidate one of the most dangerous pockets of imperialist resistance against the struggle of peoples. Our pursuit of the Israeli policy of infiltration in Africa is only an attempt to limit the spread of a destructive imperialist cancer.

The insistence of our people on resisting racial discrimination expresses a clear understanding of the real significance of the policy of racial discrimination. In its real nature, imperialism is the foreign domination to which peoples are exposed, aimed at enabling the foreigner to exploit their wealth and efforts. Racial discrimination is only a type of exploiting the wealth and efforts of peoples. Discrimination between people on the basis of colour paves the way for a discrimination between the value of their efforts. Slavery was the first form of imperialism, and those who still pursue the methods of imperialism commit a crime the effects of which are not confined to their victims. They cause damage to the human conscience as a whole and impair its victories.

Our people have spared no effort in their pursuit of peace.

Our people's pursuit of peace has guided their steps to international centres which have now become radiating enough to illuminate the path to peace.

Our people who played a sincere role at the Bandung Conference and helped to make a success of it, and who, by means of their participation in the work of the United Nations Organization and their endeavours to remove the dangers to peace, proved their deep faith in peace.

In Bandung, our people spoke with those of the other states of Asia and Africa the same language it spoke before the great powers in the U.N.

In their call for peace and in their action to support its possibilities, our people worked with all others and faced them by the power of free expression.

Our people, who took part in all the great human efforts devoted to the ban of nuclear tests, and who participated positively in the efforts for disarmament, did all that as a result of their absolute faith in peace, since they have an absolute faith in life.

Our people know the value of life, because they attempt to make it in their own country.

The sincerity of their call for peace arises from their dire need for it.

Peace is the sure guarantee for their ability to pursue their sacred struggle, for the sake of development.

It is their efforts for peace which have armed our people with the slogan of non-alignment and positive neutrality.

Today, the prevalence of this slogan in many continents of the world is a great tribute to the faith of our people in serving peace. The first call for convening the first conference of non-aligned states came from Cairo and met with wonderful approval by many peoples. It was, at the same time, a human tribute to the route we have followed in the service of peace, in which we firmly believe.

Even those who try, now, to exploit the slogan of non-alignment and positive neutrality in order to conceal from their peoples their alignment to war camps and imperialism give indirect praise to our people. Our people were the pioneers in raising this slogan. Their sincere belief in, and their struggle for it, issues from a real need for it, in order to progress.

The international co-operation for the common prosperity of the peoples of the world is a natural continuation of the war against imperialism and exploitation.

It is a logical continuation of the work for peace, in order to provide the ideal atmosphere for development.

International co-operation for prosperity brings the foreign policy of the U.A.R. to attain its ultimate aim, which is a reflection of its national struggle,

Our people offer their hand to all the peoples and nations working for international peace and human prosperity.

The international struggle of our people was a struggle in defence of their lawful rights, as well as the rights of the Arab Nation, to which they feel they belong, as the part belongs to the whole.

Our people raised - even in the darkest circumstances of the bitter struggle that they were forced to enter into— the eternal slogan: "peace, not surrender," It was an obvious gesture that they accept international co-operation, but resist domination.

Our people believe that prosperity is indivisible, and that international co-operation for prosperity is the strongest guarantee for international peace.

Peace cannot be stabilized in a world' where the standards of the people vary enormously. Peace cannot be stable on the brink of the deep abyss, that separates the advanced nations from those upon which underdevelopment was imposed.

The clash that is sure to break out between developed and underdeveloped countries is the second danger that threatens international peace. It comes next to the first danger which lies in a surprise nuclear war.

International co-operation for prosperity is the only hope for a peaceful development, which narrows the gap between the standards of nations and sows the seeds of love among them, instead of sowing the seeds of hatred.

International co-operation for prosperity on the part of the developed countries constitutes the human atonement for the age of imperialism, the atonement made by those responsible for that age as well as those who were not.

International co-operation covers a wide field, in which the U.A.R. tries to move.

It includes the revelation of scientific secrets to all, because the monopoly of science threatens humanity with a new form of imperialist domination,

It also includes the call for the peaceful use of atomic energy, in order to serve the cause of development and bring light to the dark facts of underdevelopment.

Again, it comprises the propagation of the idea of transferring the huge funds spent on the manufacture of unclear weapons to the service of life, instead of menacing and jeopardizing it.

It comprises also the call for facing international economic blocs, so that they might not be used by the strong to destroy the attempts made by others for the sake of progress.

Our people extend their intentions, coupled with actions, for international co-operation beyond all oceans and to all countries.

While our people believe in Arab unity, they also believe in a Pan-African movement and an Afro-Asian solidarity. They believe in a rally for peace, that pools the efforts of those whose interests are associated with it. They believe in a close spiritual bond that ties them to the Islamic world. They believe in belonging to the U.N., and in their loyalty to the U.N. Charter, which is the outcome of the suffering of peoples in two world wars, separated only by a period of an armed truce.

There is no contradiction or clash between all these ideals in which our people believe. In fact all these ideals form links of one chain.

Ours is an Arab people and its destiny is tied to the destiny of the unity of the Arab Nation.

Our people live at the north-eastern gate of struggling Africa and cannot be isolated from its political, social and economic development.

Our people belong to the two continents, where the greatest battles of national liberation rage. These battles of national liberation are the most outstanding feature of the 20th Century.

Our people have faith in peace as a principle. They believe in it as a vital necessity. Consequently, they spare no effort in working for it, with all those who share the same conviction.

Our people believe in the message of religions, and they live in the area, where those divine messages were received.

Our people live and struggle for the sake of the sublime human principles, which the peoples inscribed with their blood in the U.N. Charter. Many clauses of this Charter were inscribed with the blood of our people, as well as that of others.

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Our people are determined to shape their life anew in their own land, by means of freedom, truth, efficiency, justice, love and peace,

Our people have a sufficiently strong faith in God and in themselves to enable them to impose their will on life, in order to re-model it accoding to their aspirations.

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